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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE  
COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN M.DCC.LXXXIX. 1789.

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN M.DCCC.XV. 1815

BY ARCHIBALD ALISON, F.R.S.

ADVOCATE.

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SEVENTH EDITION.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS,  
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# HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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## CHAPTER XCV.

### SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS, AND DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

WITH such rapidity did Napoleon continue his flight, that he was himself the first man who brought to the French capital authentic accounts of his own defeat. The telegraph had announced in exaggerated terms the victory of Ligny, and the imperial partisans immediately expected the total overthrow of the English army. Their exultation was already great, when, on the morning of the 19th, sinister rumours began to circulate in the capital, that a terrible battle had been fought near Mont St Jean, and that the army had been destroyed. These reports increased in strength and minuteness during the remainder of the day; and while the friends of Napoleon, and the workmen in the suburbs, were thrown into despair, the shopkeepers and wealthier classes of the citizens recovered confidence, and the public funds of all descriptions rose with surprising rapidity. The opinion soon became universal that the cause of the Emperor was desperate; that he had staked his last throw on victory at Waterloo, and that overthrow there was irrecoverable ruin. From Charlerói, he had written in the most encouraging terms to the government, adding, that courage and firmness

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1.  
Flight of Napoleon, and  
his arrival at  
Paris.

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xl. 201. Cap.  
210, 217.  
Montg. viii.  
218, 219.  
Fouché, ii.  
343, 345.  
Thib. 392,  
393.

alone were necessary to re-establish affairs. He was far, however, from feeling the confidence which he expressed in his letter; Labedoyère and the officers round him were in the deepest dejection, and already began to anticipate that punishment for their treachery to the royal government, which they were well aware they richly deserved. Meanwhile Fouché, who had got the earliest intelligence of the disaster, was straining every nerve to secure his own interest in the approaching revolution, when Napoleon, at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st, arrived at Paris, and alighted at the Elysée Bourbon.<sup>1</sup>

2.  
Consterna-  
tion in the  
Chambers.

His first step, on his arrival, was to send for Caulaincourt: his agitation was such, that he could hardly articulate. "The army," said he, "has performed prodigies; but a sudden panic seized it, and all has been lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours of repose, and a warm bath, before I can attend to business." After he had taken the bath he became more collected, and spoke with anxiety of the Chambers, insisting that a dictatorship alone could save the country—that he would not seize it, but he hoped the Chambers would offer it. "I have no longer an army," added he: "they are but a set of fugitives. I may find men, but how shall I arm them? I have no muskets. Nothing but a dictatorship can save the country." He had altogether miscalculated, however, the temper of the Chambers. The utmost agitation prevailed among the Deputies, to whom the Emperor's bulletin, giving an account of the fatal battle of Waterloo, had just been read; and the Chamber was inundated with officers from the army, who even exaggerated the extent of the calamity, great as it was. Already the parties were formed: Carnot and Lucien strongly supported a dictatorship being conferred on Napoleon; but Fouché, Lafayette, Dupin, and the leaders of the popular party there, had entered into a coalition, the object of which was to erect, as in 1789, the National Assembly into absolute sovereignty, and, amidst the wreck of the national fortunes, attempt to establish the vain dogma of the sovereignty of the people.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xl. 207. Cap.  
ii. 223, 224.  
Thib. x. 398.

"The House of Representatives," said Lafayette, "declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.



The Chamber declares its sittings permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is declared high-treason. The troops of the line and the national guards, who have combated, and do combat, to defend the liberty and the independence of France, have deserved well of their country; the minister of the interior is invited to unite to the general staff the commanders of the national guard at Paris, and to consider the means of augmenting to the greatest amount that civil force, which during six-and-twenty years has been the only protection of the tranquillity of the country, and the inviolability of the representatives of the nation." This resolution, which at once destroyed the Emperor's power, was carried by acclamation. Prince Lucien accused Lafayette of ingratitude to Napoleon. "You accuse me of wanting gratitude towards Napoleon!" replied Lafayette: "have you forgotten what we have done for him? Have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, every where attest our fidelity—in the sands of Africa, on the shores of the Guadalquivir and the Tagus, on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy? During more than ten years, three millions of Frenchmen have perished for a man who wishes still to struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country."<sup>1</sup>

It was evident, from the profound sensation which these sentiments made upon the Deputies, that the cause of the Emperor was lost. Already the fatal words—"Let him abdicate! let him abdicate!" were heard on the benches; and, what was still more alarming, the national guards mustered in strength and ranged themselves round the Hall of Assembly, and there was scarcely any armed force in the capital to support his cause. The Chamber appointed a commission of five persons, including Lafayette, Lanjuinais, Dupont de L'Eure, Grenier, all decided enemies of Napoleon, who were to confer with two other committees, appointed by the Council of State and the peers, on the measures necessary to save the country. Meanwhile the deputies resumed their sittings in the evening, and the cry for the abdication of the Emperor became universal. "I demand," said General Solignac, "that a deputation of five persons shall wait

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3.  
Vehemence  
of Lafayette  
and the  
republicans  
against the  
Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xl. 207, 215.  
Thib. x. 398,  
400. Cap. ii.  
223, 224,  
229.

4.  
Measures  
to force the  
Emperor to  
abdicate.  
June 21.

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1815.

upon the Emperor, and inform him of the necessity of an immediate decision." "Let us wait an hour," cried Lucien. "An hour, but no more," replied Solignac. "If the answer is not then returned," added Lafayette, "I will move his dethronement." When Lucien went with this commission to Napoleon, he found him in the utmost agitation; sometimes proposing to dissolve the Chambers by military force, at others to blow out his brains. Lucien openly told him that there was no choice between dismissing the Chambers, and seizing the supreme power, or abdicating; and, with his usual boldness, he strongly advised him to adopt the former alternative. Maret and Caulaincourt, on the other hand, counselled an abdication, insisting that the times were very different from the 18th Brumaire, and that the national representatives were now strongly founded in the opinion of the people. "The Chambers," said Napoleon, "is composed of Jacobins, of madmen, who wish power and disorder: I should have denounced them to the nation, and chased them from their places. Dethrone me! they would not dare." "In an hour," replied Regnaud de St Angely, "your dethronement, on the motion of Lafayette, will be irrevocably pronounced: they have given you only an hour's grace. Do you hear? only an hour." Napoleon then turned with a bitter smile to Fouché, and said, "Write to these gentlemen to keep themselves quiet—they shall be satisfied." Fouché immediately wrote to the Chamber that the Emperor was about to abdicate. The intelligence diffused universal joy among the Deputies, who exclaimed, "The Emperor has abdicated; no Bourbons—no imperial prince!" They flattered themselves that the days of the Revolution had returned, and they had only to proclaim the sovereignty of the people.<sup>1</sup>\*

While these decisive measures were going on at Paris,

\* Napoleon's abdication was in these terms:—"In commencing the war to sustain the national independence, I counted on the union of all efforts, of all inclinations, and of all the national authorities. I had good reason to hope for success, and I had braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to be changed, and I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they be sincere in their declarations, and direct their hostility only against my person. My political life is ended, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, emperor of the French. The existing ministers will form the council of government. The interest which I feel in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to organise, without delay, the regency by law. Let all unite for the public safety, and the maintenance of the national independence."—*CAPEFIGUE*, ii. 236.

<sup>1</sup> Thib. x. 403, 405. Hist. Parl. xl. 221, 222. Cap. ii. 234, 235.

Wellington and Blücher were advancing with the utmost expedition through the French territory. The former marched by Quesnoy and Valenciennes, the latter by Landrecy and Maubeuge. In conformity with his former conduct on crossing the Pyrenees, the English general issued the most peremptory orders to his troops to abstain from pillage of every description, and to observe the strictest discipline,\* reminding the soldiers that the people of France were the subjects of a friendly sovereign, and that no pillage or contributions of any kind were to be permitted.† In spite of all his efforts, however, many disorders occurred, especially among the Belgian regiments; for the soldiers had only recently begun to act together, and long habits of discipline are necessary to prevent a victorious army from indulging in depredation. He wrote, in consequence, in the sternest language to the Belgian generals, declaring that he would hold the officers of corps personally responsible for any pillage by the men under their command.<sup>1</sup>‡ Blücher, on

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5.

Vigorous  
efforts of  
Wellington  
to prevent  
pillage.<sup>1</sup> Gurw. xii.  
489. Siborne,  
ii. 316

\* Wellington's conduct and principles on this occasion, and indeed throughout his whole career, were identical with those of Belisarius when he invaded Africa, with the comparatively inconsiderable forces of Justinian, in order to expel the Vandal military government:—"The next morning some of the gardens were pillaged, and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, at the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy. 'When I first accepted,' said he, 'the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less on the numbers, or even the bravery of my troops, than on the friendly disposition of the inhabitants, and their immortal hatred of the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope, if you continue to extort by violence what might be purchased for a little money. Such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country.' These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers themselves soon felt and praised the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their homes or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market; the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian, and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic emperor."—GIBBON, Chap. xii. vol. iv. 11, 12, *Milman's Edit.* There is no reason to suppose that, when Wellington entered France, he had ever thought of Belisarius's policy on invading Africa; but justice and moderation produce the same effects in all ages and countries of the world. The identity of the policy and language of the Roman and English generals, in two such remote and opposite ages, and the entire similarity of the effects produced by them, is one of the most curious and interesting facts recorded in history.

† "As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are in alliance with his Majesty the King of France, and that France, therefore, should be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken, either by officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions."—SIBORNE, ii. 316.

‡ "Je ne veux pas commander de tels officiers. J'ai été assez longtemps soldat



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the other hand, took hardly any pains to prevent plundering, but pushed on with the utmost energy direct towards Paris.

6.

Rapid advance of the English and Prussians towards Paris.  
June 26.

The important fortress of Cambray was surprised and taken by escalade by Sir Neil Campbell and Colonel Mitchell, under the direction of Sir Charles Colville, on the night of the 24th of June, with the loss of only thirty-five men. Peronne, styled La Pucelle from its never having been captured, was carried by storm in the most gallant manner by the Guards on the evening of the 26th. Excepting in these instances, no opposition whatever was experienced on the march; and with such expedition did both armies move, that on the 28th Blucher's advanced guard defeated the rearguard of Grouchy, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and a thousand prisoners, on the road from Soissons at Villars Cotteret. On the 29th the advanced guard of the British crossed the Oise, and on the day following occupied the wood of Bondy, close to Paris; while Blucher moved to the right, crossed the Seine at St Germain, and established his right at Plessis, his left at St Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. The object of these movements was to turn the strong line of fortifications, erected by Napoleon to the north of Paris, by the south and left bank of the Seine, where no field-works had yet been raised for its protection. With such expedition were they conducted that, in *ten days* after the Allies had fought at Waterloo, they were grouped in appalling strength round the walls of Paris.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wellington's General Orders, June 20, 1815. Gurw. xii. 493. Ibid. 12. 503, 532; and Wellington to Lord Bathurst, Gurw. xii. 507. Plötho, 124, 136. Jom. iv. 642. Die Grosse Chron. iv. 440, 449.

7.

Energetic announcement of the public danger by Ney to the Chambers.  
June 24.

Meanwhile, the imperial party in the Chamber of Peers, headed by Lucien, Labedoyère, and Count Flahault, made the most energetic efforts, after Napoleon had abdicated, to sustain the imperial dynasty in the person of the young Napoleon. Davoust had just read a report of the military resources that yet remained to France in the most favourable point of view, and Carnot was commencing a commentary in the same strain, when Ney, who had just arrived, vehemently interrupting him, said, "That is false! That is false! They are deceiving you: they are deceiving you in every respect. The enemy are

pour savoir que les pillards, et ceux qui les encouragent, ne valent rien devant l'ennemi: et je n'en veux pas."—GURWOOD, xii. 489.

victorious at all points. I have seen the disorder, since I commanded under the eyes of the Emperor. It is a mere illusion to suppose that sixty thousand men can be collected. It is well if Marshal Grouchy can rally ten or fifteen thousand men; and we have been beaten too thoroughly for them to make any resistance to the enemy. Here is our true state. Wellington is at Nivelles with eighty thousand men. The Prussians are far from being beaten. In six or seven days the enemy will be at the gates of the capital."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Parl.  
xl. 238, 241.  
Thib. x. 410,  
411.

Vehement agitation followed this announcement, and soon after, Lucien, Joseph, Labedoyère, and the whole imperial party, entered with plumed hats and in full dress, and Lucien exclaimed with a loud voice, "The Emperor is politically dead. Long live the Emperor Napoleon the Second!" Many voices opposed this proposition. "Who dares resist it?" said Labedoyère. "A few base individuals, constant in the worship of power, and who show themselves as skilful in detaching themselves from it in misfortune as in flattering it in prosperity. I have seen them around the throne—at the foot of the sovereign, in the days of his greatness: they fly from it at the approach of danger; they reject Napoleon the Second because they wish to receive the laws of the strangers, whom they already call their allies, possibly their friends. Is it then, great God! decided that nothing is ever to be heard in this Chamber but the voice of baseness? What other voice has been heard here for ten years?" And with these words, seeing the great majority decidedly against him, he rushed out of the assembly. But these violent sallies determined nothing; and at length the peers adopted unanimously a middle course, and appointed a commission of five persons to carry on the government, consisting of Caulaincourt and Quenett, with Fouché, Carnot, and Grenier. Such was the address of Fouché that he contrived to get himself named the president of the commission, and soon obtained its entire direction.<sup>2</sup>

8.  
Stormy scene  
in the Cham-  
ber of Peers.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. ii.  
267, 277.  
Hist. Parl.  
xl. 238, 247.  
Thib. x. 410,  
412.

It was not, however, by any debates in the Chamber of Peers or Deputies that the government of France was to be decided; an overwhelming foreign force was advancing with rapid strides, and every thing depended on

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9.

Attempts to  
defend Paris.  
Their failure.  
July 2.

the negotiations with the Allied generals, and the means that could be taken to defend the capital. Carnot exerted himself to the utmost to strengthen it on the left bank of the Seine, where it was obviously to be attacked; and in a laboured speech, on the 2d July, to the councils of government, endeavoured to show that resistance was yet practicable. Soult, however, expressed a decided opinion that Paris was so weak on that side of the river, that it was in vain to think of prolonging its defence; that there were not at the utmost more than forty-five thousand men in the capital, and that he could not answer for the result of a combat. Massena supported this opinion, and after referring to his defence of Genoa, as a proof that he was not disposed lightly to surrender a fortified place, declared that he would not engage to defend Paris an hour. The matter was ultimately referred to a commission of all the marshals and military men in the capital, and they unanimously declared that the city could not be defended. It was determined, therefore, to enter into a capitulation; and, in fact, Wellington had been in close communication with commissioners of the government ever since his arrival in the vicinity of Paris, on the 29th June.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cap. ii.  
296, 320.  
Gurw. xii.  
541. Thib.  
x. 416, 423.

10.

Movements  
of the Allies,  
which lead  
to its capi-  
tulation.  
July 2 and 3.

Meanwhile Ziethen, after a short conflict, succeeded in establishing himself on the heights of Meudon, and in the village of Issy. On the following day the French attacked him in the latter village in considerable force, but they were repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. A bridge was begun to be erected at Argenteuil, to establish the communication between the British and Prussian armies, and an English corps moved to the left bank of the Seine by the bridge of Neuilly. Davoust, upon this, sent to propose an armistice for the conclusion of a convention; but some difficulty was at first experienced from Blucher positively insisting upon the whole French army laying down their arms, to which the French marshals declared they never would be brought to submit. At length Fouché, who was doing every thing to pave the way for the return of the Bourbons, persuaded them that the restoration of Louis XVIII. would be much facilitated, both with the populace and the army, if a capitulation were granted to the troops; and the terms were at



length agreed upon on the evening of the 3d July. It was stipulated that the French army should, on the following day, commence the evacuation of the capital, with their arms, artillery, caissons, and whole personal property: that within eight days they should be entirely established to the south of the Loire: that private property of every description should be respected, as well as public, except in so far as it was of a warlike character. The twelfth article, which acquired a melancholy interest from the tragedy which followed, was in these terms: "Individual persons and property shall be respected; and, in general, all the individuals who are at present in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, *without being disquieted or prosecuted in any respect*, in regard to the functions which they occupy, or may have occupied, or to their political conduct or opinions."<sup>1</sup> \*

It is impossible for any language to convey an idea of the universal interest excited in the British empire by the brief but stirring campaign of Waterloo, or the unbounded transports which were felt at the glorious victory which terminated it. Although the official accounts of the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo were received together, yet intelligence had been received two days before of Napoleon having crossed the frontier and attacked the Prussian troops, and the utmost anxiety pervaded all classes as to the result of the impending conflict. No one who was then of an age to understand what was going on, can ever forget the entrancing joy which thrilled the British heart when the thunder of artillery proclaimed the joyous news, and when Wellington's letter was read aloud to crowds with beating hearts, in every street, by whoever was fortunate enough to have obtained first a copy of the *London Gazette*.† Even those who had lost sons or brothers in the conflict, and they were many,

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<sup>1</sup> Wellington to Lord Bathurst, July 4, 1815. Gurw. xii. 541. Convention, July 3, 1815. Ibid. 542, 544. Plötho, iv. 153, 170. Vaud. 235, 246. Cap. ii. 296, 354. Grolm. Dam. ii. 149, 151. Die Grosse Chron. iv. 453, 473.

11.  
Universal transports at those events in Great Britain.

\* The total loss of the Allied armies under Blücher and Wellington, from the 15th June to the 3d July, was as follows:—

	OFFICERS.			SOLDIERS.			Total.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	
Prussians,	106	606	41	5,664	15,744	10,959	33,120
Brit. and Han.,	148	670	28	2,283	8,856	1,847	19,476
Belgians,	23	115	6	446	1,936	1,612	
Brunswickers,	12	47	..	251	935	260	
	289	1,438	75	8,649	27,471	14,678	52,596

—Die Grosse Chron. iv. 472.

† It is singular how frequently a rumour of a great and decisive victory prevails at a great distance in an inconceivably short space of time after its

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shared in the general exultation : grief was almost overwhelmed amidst the universal joy : it was felt that life could not have been so well sacrificed as for the advancement of such a cause. The lover left his mistress, the mother her child. Spontaneous illuminations were seen in every city ; exultation beamed in every eye ; all work, alike in the streets and the fields, was suspended.\* A general thanksgiving, appointed by government, met with a responsive echo in every heart ; both houses of parliament unanimously voted their thanks to the Duke of Wellington and the soldiers who had fought at Waterloo ; and a medal was struck, by orders from the commander-in-chief, which was given to every officer and man who

<sup>1</sup> *Courier*, June 20, 1815.

actual occurrence. In the London papers of Tuesday the 20th June,<sup>1</sup> a rumour was mentioned of Napoleon "having been defeated in a great battle near Brussels, on Sunday evening, in which he lost all his heavy artillery." The official despatches did not arrive in London till midnight on Wednesday. It was the same with the battle of the Metaurus in the second Punic war, which determined its issue. "A doubtful rumour," says Arnold, "at first arose, that a great battle had been fought *only two days before* : two horsemen of Narnia had ridden off from the field to carry the news to their home : it had been heard and published in the camp of the reserve army of Narni. But how could a battle fought in the extremity of Umbria be heard of only two days after at Rome ?" —LIVY, xxvii. 50 ; ARNOLD'S *Rome*, iii. 377. A similar incident is recounted of the battle of Platæa, under circumstances still more extraordinary :—"Eodem forte die quo Mardonii copiæ deletæ sunt, etiam navali prælio in Asia sub monte Mycale adversus Persas dimicatum est. Ibi ante congressionem quum classes ex adverso starent, fama ad utrumque exercitum venit, vicisse Græcos, et Mardonii copias occisione occidisse. Tanta famæ velocitas fuit, ut quum matutino tempore prælium in Bæotia commissum sit, meridianis horis in Asiam, per tot maria, et tantum spatii tam brevi horarum momento de victoria nuntiatur sit." It is a singular circumstance, that a similar and almost miraculous rapidity should have occurred in the transmission of the intelligence of the battles of Platæa, the Metaurus, and Waterloo, the most decisive in their consequences, and influential of the fate of future ages, in ancient and modern times. It would seem that an unerring instinct tells mankind when actions of vast moment have been fought, and leads them to make almost supernatural efforts in the transmission of the accounts of them. The same paper (*Courier*, June 20, 1815) mentions that "Rothschild had made great purchase of stock, which raised the three-per-cents from 56 to 58." Perhaps, in the latter instance, this may explain the prodigy.

\* " — Oh se vedessi

In quai teneri eccessi  
D' insolito piacer prorompe ogni alma !  
Chi batte palma a palma,  
Chi sparge fior, chi se ne adorna ; i Numi  
Chi ringrazia piangendo. Altri il compagno  
Corre a svelter dall'opra ; altri l'amico  
Va dal sonno destar. Riman l'aratro  
Qui nel solco imperfetto : ivi l'armento  
Resta senza pastor. Le madri ascolti,  
Di gioia insane, a' pargoletti ignari  
Narrar di Ciro i casi. I tardi vecchi  
Vedi ad onta degli anni  
Sè stessi invigorir. Sino i fanciulli,  
I fanciulli innocenti,  
Non san perchè, ma sul comune esempio  
Van festivi esclamando : al tempio, al tempio."

METASTASIO, *Ciro*, Act iii. scene 11.



had borne arms on the eventful day. In almost all cases it was preserved by them and their descendants with religious care to the latest hour of their lives. Yet was the most touching proof of the universal sympathy of the nation afforded by the general subscription, spontaneously entered into in every chapel and parish in the kingdom, for the widows and orphans of those who had fallen at Waterloo, or the relief of those who had been maimed in the fight, and which soon amounted to the immense sum of five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The 7th of July was the proudest day in the annals of England. On that day her victorious army, headed by Wellington, made their public entry, along with the Prussians, into Paris, where an English drum had not been heard for nearly four hundred years. They approached by the imposing entrance of the barrier of Neuilly, defiled through the Champs Elysées, and, dividing in the Place Louis XV., spread on either side round the Boulevards, and took military possession of all the principal points in the capital. The troops had not the splendid appearance of the Russian and Prussian guards on the former entry: the brief but dreadful campaign of Waterloo had soiled their dress and torn their accoutrements. But their aspect was not on that account the less striking. It had less of the pomp of the melodrama, but more of the reality of war. With inexpressible feelings the French beheld the standards riddled with shot and blackened by fire; the proud but grave air of the men; the soiled coats but clear and burnished arms; the splendid bearing and magnificent horses of the cavalry, by whom the last remains of the Old Guard had been destroyed. The Highland regiments in particular, arrayed in their full and beautiful national costume, attracted universal admiration. But it was a very different spectacle from the former entry of the Allies, on the 31st of March 1814. Joy then beamed in every eye, hope was buoyant in every heart; all felt as if rescued from death. The reality of subjugation was now experienced: the crime of the nation had been unpardonable; its punishment was unknown, but all felt it could not but be great. With a proud step and beating hearts, to the triumphant sound of military music, with looks erect and banners flying, the British troops defiled through the capital. But the French regarded

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12.  
Entry of the  
English and  
Prussians  
into the  
French  
capital.

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<sup>1</sup> Personal  
knowledge.  
Thib. x. 485.  
Cap. ii. 340,  
341.

them with melancholy hearts and anxious looks. Few persons were to be seen in the streets; hardly any sound but the clang of the horses' hoofs was heard when they marched through the city. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, in a regular camp; the Prussians bivouacked in the churches, on the quays, and in the principal streets.<sup>1</sup>

13.

And of  
Louis  
XVIII.  
July 8.

On the following day Louis XVIII., who had followed in the rear of the English army from Ghent, made his public entrance, escorted by the national guard. But his entry was attended by still more melancholy circumstances, and of sinister augury to the future stability of his dynasty. Even the royalists were downcast; their patriotic feelings were deeply wounded by the defeat of France; they augured ill of the return of the king in the rear of the English bayonets. There was something in the restoration of the monarch, by the arms of the old rivals and enemies of France, which added inexpressibly to its bitterness. It was no longer "Europe in arms before her walls," in the words of Alexander, which sought for amity as the reward of pardon; it was England and Prussia which made their single and triumphant entry, and from whom nothing could be expected on this second overthrow but the stern maxim of war, "Woe to the vanquished!" The recollection of our Edwards and Henrys, of Cressy and Poitiers, mingled with the bitterness of present subjugation. Louis appeared another Charles, led by another Henry, after a second Azincour, destined in mock royalty to sign a second treaty of Troyes.\* Hereditary animosities, old injuries, joined with present mortification to render the feelings of all insupportable. Melancholy appeared in every visage; a load was felt on every heart; peace itself seemed dearly purchased at the price of such humiliation. The future was yet more disheartening than the present: the partition of France, possibly its destruction, might be approaching; even hope, the last consolation of the unfortunate, was gone.<sup>2</sup>

Paris exhibited a melancholy aspect after the second restoration of Louis XVIII. On the same day on which it took place, Fouché announced the dissolution of the

<sup>2</sup> Cap. ii. 340,  
341. Thib. x.  
486, 487.  
Moniteur,  
July 8, 1815.

\* It is a very curious coincidence that the battle of Waterloo was fought just four hundred years after that of Azincour; the former took place on 18th June 1815; the latter on Oct. 25th 1415.—BLAIR'S *Chronology*.

provisional government. The share he had had in recent events soon appeared in his appointment as minister of police to the restored monarch. But with him were not restored the visions which, to a considerable part of the nation, had obscured the bitterness of the former capture of Paris. The whole charm of the restoration, in the eyes even of the royalists, was gone; its hopes to the nation were at an end. The bridges, and all the principal points of the town, were occupied by strong bodies of infantry and artillery; patrols of cavalry were to be seen at every step; the reality of subjugation was before their eyes. Blucher kept aloof from all intercourse with the court, and haughtily demanded a contribution of a hundred millions of francs (£4,000,000 sterling) for the pay of his troops, as Napoleon had done from the Prussians at Berlin. Already the Prussian soldiers insisted with loud cries that the pillar of Austerlitz should be pulled down, as Napoleon had destroyed the pillar of Rosbach; and Blucher was so resolute to destroy the bridge of Jena, that he had actually begun operations by running mines under the arches for blowing it up.<sup>1</sup>

A negotiation ensued on the subject between him and Wellington, in which the stern Prussian haughtily demanded this sacrifice to the injured genius of his country. Wellington as steadily resisted the ruthless act, but he had great difficulty in maintaining his point; and it was only by his placing a sentinel on the bridge,\*

\* "Several reports have been brought to me during the night, and some from the government, in consequence of the work carrying on by your highness on one of the bridges over the Seine, which it is supposed to be the intention of your highness to destroy.

"As this measure will certainly create a good deal of disturbance in the town, and as the sovereigns, when they were here before, left all these bridges, &c., standing, I take the liberty of suggesting to you to delay the destruction of the bridge till they arrive, or till I have the pleasure of seeing you to-morrow morning."—WELLINGTON to BLUCHER, *8th July 1815, midnight*; GURWOOD, xii. 549.

Blucher, however, was not to be diverted from his project even by this judicious remonstrance; the preparations for blowing up the bridge still continued, and in consequence Wellington again addressed him in the following terms, on the following day:—

"The destruction of the bridge of Jena is highly disagreeable to the king and to the people, and may occasion disturbance in the city. It is not merely a military measure, but it is one likely to attach to the character of our operations, and is of political importance. It is adopted solely because the bridge is considered a monument of the battle of Jena, notwithstanding that the government are willing to change the name of the bridge. Considering the bridge as a monument, I beg leave to observe, that its immediate destruction is inconsistent with the promise made to the commissioners on the part of the French army, that the monuments, museums, &c., should be left to the decision of the Allied sovereigns. All that I ask is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge, may be suspended till the sovereigns arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no

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14.

Melancholy  
condition of  
Paris after  
the Restora-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> Gurw. xii.  
549, 553.  
Cap. ii. 365,  
366.

15.  
The bridge  
of Jena is  
saved by  
Wellington.



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and repeated and earnest remonstrances, that the destruction of that beautiful monument was prevented. The manner of the Prussian officers and soldiers was often rude and harsh, and beyond the limits of Paris their troops indulged in every species of pillage. It was not that they were naturally fierce, or wanted generosity of feeling; but that they were profoundly wounded by the injuries of their country, and determined, now that they had the power, to avenge them. But very different was the conduct of the English army to their ancient rivals. So strict were the orders of their chief, so admirably were they seconded by his officers, that on the admission even of their enemies, disorders of every kind were prevented, and property was as effectually guarded as in London or Vienna. So strongly impressed was Louis XVIII. with the discipline preserved by the British army since they entered France, that he requested Wellington to present the principal officers to him at the Tuileries, and, forming them in a circle round him, he said, "Gentlemen, I am happy to see you around me: I have to thank you, gentlemen, not for your valour—I leave that to others—but for your humanity to my poor people. I thank you, gentlemen, as a father in the name of his children." The history of the world has not so glorious a tribute to record from the sovereign of the vanquished to a conquering army.<sup>1</sup>\*

<sup>1</sup> Cap. ii.  
362, 366.  
Wellington  
to Blücher,  
July 8, 1815.  
Gurw. xii.  
549, 553, 558.

## 16.

Journey of  
Napoleon to  
Rochefort.  
He delivers  
himself up  
to the Eng-  
lish.

After his abdication of the imperial authority, Napoleon had retired to Malmaison, the scene of his early happiness with Josephine. It had been irrevocably determined by the Allied sovereigns, that they would no longer either recognise Napoleon as a crowned head, or suffer him to remain in Europe; and that his residence, wherever it was, should be under such restrictions as should effectually prevent his again breaking loose to desolate the world. Napoleon himself, however, was anxious to embark for America, and the provisional government did every thing in their power to facilitate that object. During his residence at Malmaison he offered, if the government would give him the command

objection."—WELLINGTON to BLÜCHER, 9th July 1815: GURWOOD, xii. 553. By this letter time was gained, and when the sovereigns arrived, the project was not resumed.

\* I had this interesting fact from Colonel Sir Digby Mackworth, aide-de-camp to the late Lord Hill, who was present on the occasion, to whose kindness I am much indebted.

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of the army, even for a single day, to attack the Prussians, who had incautiously thrown themselves to the south of the Seine without any proper communication with the English on the north, and assured them that there could be no doubt of the success of the enterprise; but they deemed this, probably justly, too hazardous, and likely to injure the negotiations in which they were engaged with the Allied generals. After a melancholy sojourn of six days at Malmaison, Napoleon set out for Rochefort, with an immense number of carriages laden with all the most precious articles which he could collect from palaces within his reach, and travelled with all the pomp and circumstance of an emperor to that harbour, where he arrived on the morning of the 3d of July. His resolution, however, finally to quit the scene of his greatness, was not yet taken; for during the course of his journey, and after his arrival at Rochefort, he had various communications with the troops at Paris, and on their march to the Loire, which continued down to the moment of his embarking on the 14th. But he found that the blockade of the English cruisers was so vigilant, that there was no possible chance of avoiding them; and after ten days' vacillation, and having considered every possible project of escape, he at length adopted the resolution of throwing himself on the generosity of the British government; and sent to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon* the following letter, addressed to the Prince-Regent:—"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself by the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim it from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." On the following day he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, and was received with the honours due to his rank as a general, by Captain Maitland, who immediately set sail with his noble prisoner for the British shores.<sup>1</sup>

July 2.

July 13.

July 14.

1 Cap. ii. 545,  
552. Thib. x.  
495, 498.

Scott's Napo-  
leon, ix. 61,  
72.

Had the British government been acting alone in this transaction, they might have had some difficulty how to conduct themselves on the occasion; for certainly never was a more touching appeal made to the humanity of a hostile nation, and never was there an occasion on which a

17.

Removal of  
Napoleon to  
St Helena.

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Aug. 3.

Oct. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Maitland's  
Narrative,  
74, 82. Scott's  
Napoleon,  
ix. 75, 105.  
Cap. i. 355,  
364.

generous heart would have felt a more ardent desire to act in a manner worthy of the splendid testimony to their character thus borne by their great antagonist.\* But England was but a single power in the alliance; her whole measures were taken in concert; the power of Napoleon over his troops had recently been evinced in a manner so striking, and his disregard of the obligation of treaties was so universally known, and had been so recently exemplified by his return from Elba, that it was obviously altogether impossible to think of keeping him in Europe. It was therefore politely, but firmly, intimated to him by the British government, that the determination of the Allied sovereigns was irrevocably taken, and that he must be removed to St Helena. Napoleon vehemently protested against this measure, which he alleged was a breach of the understanding on which he had delivered himself up to Captain Maitland; although nothing could be clearer than that he had made no terms with that officer, and that, if he had any claim at all, it was only on the generosity of the British government. After remaining a fortnight in Plymouth Roads, during which time he was the object of the most flattering curiosity and attention, from all who could get a glimpse of him from the neighbouring towns, he was removed on board the *Northumberland*, and set sail for St Helena, which he reached on the 16th of October. Both during the voyage out, and while on board the *Bellerophon*, the charm of his conversation, and fascination of his manner, won the hearts of the sailors, as the acuteness of his remarks and depth of his reflections excited the admiration of the officers. With his accustomed mental activity,<sup>1</sup> he inquired into the minutest particulars—into the discipline of the

\* Would that the character of Napoleon had enabled the British government to act up to the noble feelings ascribed by the poet to Xerxes on the occasion referred to by Napoleon:—

*Serse.*

E ti par poco

Credermi generoso?

Fidarmi una tal vita? Aprirmi un campo,

Onde illustrar la mia memoria? E tutto

Rendere a' regni miei

In Temistocle sol quanto perdei?

*Temistocle.* Male ruine, il sangue,

Le stragi, onde son reo.

*Serse.*

Tutto compensa

La gloria di poter nel mio nemico

Onorar la virtù. L'onta di pria

Fu della sorte; e questa gloria é mia."

METASTASIO, *Temistocle*, Act ii. scene 2.



ships, and was particularly struck with the silence and order which always prevailed. "What could you not do with a hundred thousand such men!" said he; "I now cease to wonder that the English were always victorious at sea. There was more noise on board the *Epervier* schooner, which conveyed me from Isle d'Aix to Basque Roads, than on board the *Bellerophon*, with a crew of six hundred men, between Rochefort and Plymouth."

A still more melancholy humiliation than they had yet experienced ere long befell the French nation. The Allied sovereigns now arrived in Paris, and insisted upon the restoration of the objects of art in the museum of the Louvre, which had been pillaged from their respective states by the orders of Napoleon. The justice of this demand could not be contested: it was only wresting the prey from the robber. Talleyrand, who had now resumed his functions as minister of foreign affairs, appealed to the article in the capitulation of Paris, which provided for the preservation of public and private property, if not of a military description. But to this it was replied with justice, that these objects of art, seized contrary to the law of nations by Napoleon, could not be regarded as rightly the property of the French nation; and that, even if they were so, it was beyond the powers of the Allied generals to tie up the hands of absent and independent sovereigns, who took no benefit by the capitulation, by any stipulations of their own. The restitution of the objects of art, accordingly, was resolved on, and forthwith commenced, under the care of British and Prussian soldiers, who occupied the Place de Carrousel during the time the removal was going forward. Nothing wounded the French so profoundly as this breaking up of the trophies of the war. It told them, in language not to be misunderstood, that conquest had now reached their doors: the iron went into the soul of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

A memorial from all the artists of Europe at Rome, claimed for the Eternal City the entire restoration of the immortal works of art which had once adorned it. The Allied sovereigns acceded to the just demand; and Canova, impassioned for the arts and the city of his choice, hastened to Paris to superintend the removal. It was most effectually done. The bronze horses brought from Corinth to Rome, from thence transported to Constan-

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18.  
Restoration  
of the works  
of art from  
the Museum  
of the Louvre.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. iii.  
86, 89. *Moni-  
teur*, July 18,  
24, 1815.

19.  
Good effect  
of this break-  
ing up of the  
museum, and  
dignified  
abstinence  
from pillage  
by the Allied  
sovereigns.

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tinople by the great founder of that city, and from its hippodrome to Venice by the Doge Dandolo, were restored to their old station in front of the church of St Mark. The Transfiguration, and the Last Communion of St Jerome, resumed their place in the halls of the Vatican; the Apollo, and the Laocoon, again adorned the precincts of St Peter's; the Venus was enshrined anew amidst beauty in the Tribune of Florence; and the Descent from the Cross, by Rubens, was restored to the devout worship of the Flemings in the cathedral of Antwerp. Whoever has witnessed the magnificent gallery of the Louvre, when yet untouched in 1814, and again visited the paintings it contained in their native seats, will rejoice that this restoration took place. The accumulation of beauty in that great museum fatigued the mind; its enchanting objects had been transplanted among a nation who could little appreciate them, though infinitely proud of their possession; they had been withdrawn from the people to whom they formed the proudest inheritance, and had become the trophy of angry strife and vehement passion, which "to party gave up what was meant for mankind." Impartial justice must admire the dignified restraint which confined the restitution to the removal of objects illegally seized by Napoleon during his conquests, and abstained, when it had the power, from following his bad example, by the seizure of any which belonged to the French nation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Hist. de la Restauration, iii. 86, 89. Cent Jours, ii. 367, 368. Scott's Paris Revisited, 242, 256.

20.  
Immense extent of French pillage of objects of art under Napoleon.

The claims preferred by the different Allied powers for restitution not merely of celebrated objects of art, but of curiosities and valuable articles of all kinds, which had been carried off by the French during their occupation of the different countries of Europe, especially under Napoleon, were immense, and demonstrated at once the almost incredible length to which the system of spoliation and robbery had been carried by the republican and imperial authorities. Their amount may be estimated by one instance from an official list, prepared by the Prussian authorities in 1815. It appears that, during the years 1806 and 1807, there had been violently taken from the Prussian states, on the requisition of M. Donore, and brought to Paris,—statues, paintings, antiquities, cameos, manuscripts, maps, gems, antiques, rarities, and other valuable articles, the catalogue of which occupies *fifty-three closely printed*



pages of M. Schoell's valuable *Recueil*. Among them are a hundred and twenty-seven paintings, many of them of the very highest value, taken from the palaces of Berlin and Potsdam alone; a hundred and eighty-seven statues, chiefly antique, taken from the same palaces during the same period; and eighty-six valuable manuscripts and documents seized in the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, on the occupation of that city, then a neutral power, in 1803, by the armies of the First Consul on the invasion of Hanover. The total articles reclaimed by the Prussians exceeded two thousand. If such was the amount of spoliation officially ascertained in a northern state, during two years of conquest, where such objects of art were rarities of foreign growth, it may be conceived what must have been its magnitude in the case of Italy and Spain, where the fine arts were the natural produce of the soil, and their treasures had been ransacked during long years of hostile occupation.<sup>1</sup>

The claims of states and cities for indemnity on account of the enormous exactions made from them by the French generals, under the authority of the Convention and the Emperor, were still more extraordinary, and demonstrated the prodigious, and, if not proved by official instruments, incredible extent to which the system of spoliation had been carried by the French military authorities. Their amount may be judged of by one instance. From an official list preserved in Schoell's *Recueil*, prepared by the mayor and magistrates of Hamburg, of the amount of French spoliation on their unhappy city, it appears that, from the 1st June 1813 to the 23d April 1814,—that is, during a period of somewhat less than eleven months,—Marshal Davoust had levied on Hamburg alone contributions in money to the amount of 2,805,684 francs, or £112,300; besides furnishings in kind to the value of 708,905 francs, or £28,036! The weight of these prodigious contributions will not be duly estimated, unless it is kept in mind that Hamburg was a city not containing at that period above 80,000 inhabitants; that though possessed at one period of great commercial wealth, its trade had been ruined by a blockade for ten years, and its riches exhausted by many years' previous occupation by the French armies; and that, from the difference in the value of money, these sums were equal to at least £250,000 in Great Britain.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the Catalogue in Schoell, *Recueil*, vi. 237, 289.

21.  
Enormous extent of their requisitions in money and kind.

<sup>2</sup> See Schoell, *Recueil*, vi. 158, 159.  
N. 34, 35.

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When such was the amount coming from a single city in less than a single year, it may be conceived what was the exasperation produced in the states occupied by the French armies, and how immense the amount of indemnities claimed by the suffering nations, now that the day of reckoning had come to their oppressors.

22.  
Immense  
forces of the  
Allies which  
poured into  
France in  
July and  
August.

The vast amount of these claims for indemnities in money or territories, and the angry feelings with which they were urged, were of sinister augury to the French nation, and augmented, in a most serious degree, the difficulties experienced by those who were intrusted with the conduct of the negotiations. But, be they what they may, the French had no means of resisting them; all they could trust to was the moderation or jealousies of their conquerors. The force which, during the months of July and August, advanced from all quarters into their devoted territory, was immense, and such as demonstrated that, if Napoleon had not succeeded in dissolving the alliance by an early victory in the Netherlands, the contest, even without the battle of Waterloo, would have been hopeless. The united armies of Russians and Austrians, three hundred and fifty thousand strong, under Schwartzenberg and Barclay de Tolly, crossed the Rhine in various places from Bâle to Coblenz, and, pressing rapidly forward, soon occupied the whole eastern provinces of France. The Austrians and Piedmontese, a hundred thousand more, passed Mont Cenis, or descended the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons. The Spaniards made their appearance in Bearn or Roussillon. The armies of Blücher and Wellington, now reinforced to two hundred thousand effective men, occupied Paris, its environs, Normandy, and Picardy. Eighty thousand Prussians and Germans, in addition, were advancing through the Rhenish provinces and Belgium. Before the Allied sovereigns returned to Paris, in the middle of July, the French territory was occupied by eight hundred thousand men, to oppose which no considerable force remained but the army beyond the Loire, which mustered sixty-five thousand combatants. Huningen made a glorious defence under General Barbanogre; and Colonel Bugeaud sustained a heroic resistance with a single regiment, in Savoy, against a whole Austrian division.<sup>1</sup> But these isolated deeds of

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Cent  
Jours. ii. 370,  
374. Jom.  
Camp. de  
1815, 256,  
258.

valour had no sensible effect in retarding the progress of the Allied powers. The march of their columns continued without intermission; and the rapid advance of Blücher and Wellington to Paris, before the campaign had well commenced, converted it into a mere military promenade and pacific occupation.

The breaking up of the museum was an ominous event to the French nation, for the neighbouring powers had territories as well as paintings to reclaim, spoliation as well as insult to retaliate; and the spirit of conquest as well as revenge loudly demanded the cession of many of the most important provinces, which had been added by the Bourbon princes to the monarchy of Clovis. Austria insisted upon getting back Lorraine and Alsace; Spain put in a claim to the Basque provinces; Prussia alleged that her security would be incomplete unless Mayence, Luxembourg, and all the frontier provinces of France adjoining her territory, were ceded to her; and the King of the Netherlands claimed the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier. The monarchy of Louis seemed on the eve of dissolution; and so complete was the prostration of the vanquished, that there appeared no power capable of preventing it. It was with no small difficulty, and more from the mutual jealousies of the different powers than any other cause, that these natural reprisals for French rapacity were prevented from taking place. The negotiation was protracted at Paris till late in autumn; Russia, which had nothing to gain by the proposed partition, took part with France throughout its whole continuance; and the different powers, to support their pretensions in this debate, maintained their armies, who had entered on all sides, on the French soil; so that above *eight hundred thousand foreign troops* were quartered on its inhabitants for several months. At length, however, by the persevering efforts of Lord Castlereagh, M. Nesselrode, and M. Talleyrand, all difficulties were adjusted, and the second treaty of Paris was concluded in November 1815, between France and the whole Allied powers.<sup>1</sup>

By this treaty, and the relative conventions which were signed the same day, conditions of a very onerous kind were imposed upon the restored government. The French

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23.  
Excessive  
demands of  
the Allied  
powers.

Nov. 20,  
1815.  
<sup>1</sup> Cap. ii.  
567, 582.  
Martens,  
Sup. ii. 682.  
Hard. xii.  
540, 544.



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1815.

24.

Terms of the  
treaty.

Nov. 20,

1815.

frontier was restored to the state in which it stood in 1790, by which means the whole of the territory, far from inconsiderable, gained by the treaty of 1814, was resumed by the Allies. In consequence of this, France lost the fortresses of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philipville, and Marienburg, with the adjacent territory of each. Versoix, with a small district round it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; the fortress of Huningen was to be demolished; but the little country of the Venaisin, the first conquest of the Revolution, was preserved to France. Seven hundred millions of francs (£28,000,000 sterling) were to be paid to the Allied powers for the expenses of the war; in addition to which it was stipulated that an army of 150,000 men, composed of 30,000 from each of the great powers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and the lesser powers of Germany, was to occupy, for a period not less than three, or more than five years, the whole frontier fortresses of France, from Cambray to Fort Louis, including Valenciennes and Quesnoi, Maubeuge and Landrecy; and this large force was to be maintained entirely at the expense of the French government. In addition to this, the different powers obtained indemnities for the spoliations inflicted on them by France during the Revolution, which amounted to the enormous sum of seven hundred and thirty-five millions of francs more, (£29,400,000 sterling.) A hundred millions of francs were also provided to the smaller powers as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; so that the total sums which France had to pay, besides maintaining the army of occupation, amounted to no less than fifteen hundred and thirty-five millions of francs, or £61,400,000 sterling. Truly France now underwent the severe but just law of retaliation; she was made to feel what she had formerly inflicted on Germany, Italy, and Spain. Great Britain, in a worthy spirit, surrendered the whole sum falling to her out of the indemnity for the war, amounting to nearly £5,000,000 sterling, to the King of the Netherlands, to restore the famous barrier against France which Joseph II. had so insanely demolished; and the Allied powers unanimously gave the highest proof of their sense of Wellington being the first of European generals, by conferring upon him the command of the Army of occupation.<sup>1</sup> The King of the Netherlands

<sup>1</sup> See treaty in Martens, i. 682; and Schoell, xi. 501, 518. King of Netherlands to Wellington, 19th July 1815. Gurw. xii. 572.

created him Prince of Waterloo, and declared his intention of "perpetuating by that title the recollection of my country delivered, and Europe saved."

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1815.

Two magnificent events followed the long occupation of the French territory by the Allied armies, previous to the signature of this treaty. The first was a review of all the British forces in the presence of the whole Allied powers, which took place in the plain of St Denis. The British army before this had been greatly strengthened by the arrival of the troops from Canada, great part of them Peninsular veterans, and by the recovery of a large part of the wounded who had suffered at Waterloo; and it now mustered sixty thousand red-coats. Never had such an array of native British troops been seen, and probably never will such be seen again. The soldiers, as if by enchantment, went through with admirable precision, under the orders of their chief, the whole manœuvres that had won the battle of Salamanca. The rapid advance of Pakenham's division athwart the line of Thomière's march; the onset of D'Urban's Portuguese horse; the splendid charge of Le Marchant's heavy dragoons, and Anson's light cavalry, on Clausel's division; the desperate struggle on the rock of the Arapeiles; the momentary success of the French in the centre; and the decisive attack of Clinton's division, which restored the day and won the victory, were all displayed in mimic warfare, but with most imposing effect.\* The pageant rivalled in precision, and exceeded in magnificence and interest, as well as proud circumstance, the representation by Napoleon of the battle of Marengo on its memorable field, the year he was made emperor.† The rapidity of the British movements, the quick fire of their artillery, the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, were the subject of universal admiration.<sup>1</sup>

25.  
Review of  
the British  
troops in the  
plain of St  
Denis.  
Sept. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Personal  
knowledge.

The other was a great review of all the Russian troops that were in France, on the plains of Vertus, on 10th September 1815. This review conveyed an awful impression of the strength of the Russian empire when fairly roused: for a hundred and sixty thousand men, including eight-and-twenty thousand cavalry, were under arms on the field, with five hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

26.  
Great review  
of the Rus-  
sians on the  
plains of Ver-  
tus, Sept. 10.

\* *Ante*, Chap. lxxviii. § 71.

† *Ante*, Chap. xxxix. § 37.

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The day was sultry, but clear ; and from a small hill in the centre of a large plain, at a short distance from Chalons, the whole immense lines were visible. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a single gun, fired from a height, was the signal for three cheers from the troops. Even at this distance of time, those cheers sound as it were fresh in the ears of all who heard them ; their sublimity, like the roar of the ocean when near, and gradually melting away in the distance, was altogether overpowering. A general salute was then given by a rolling fire along the line from right to left ; the Russians then broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments, and marched past the sovereigns in splendid array. " Well, Charles," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Stuart, now Marquis of Londonderry, after the review was over, " you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again : the precision of the movements of these troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army ; but still I think my little army would move round them in any direction, while they were effecting a single change."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London-derry's War in Germany, 334, 335.

27.  
Trial and execution of Labedoyère, Ney, and condemnation and escape of Lavalette.

But the pomp and splendour of military display did not alone terminate the war in France. The Allied powers, irritated beyond endurance by the treachery and defection of the whole French army, and the perfidy with which the partisans of Napoleon had revolted to his side, insisted peremptorily upon measures of severity being adopted by the French government. The universal voice of Europe demanded that France should be made to feel what she had inflicted on others ; that since undeserved lenity had been received only with ingratitude, the stern law of retribution should have its course. A very long list of proscriptions was at first rendered by the European powers ; and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were reduced, by the efforts of Talleyrand, supported by Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, to fifty-eight, of persons to be banished. But banishment was not enough ; the flagrant treason of the Hundred Days demanded the blood of some of the principal offenders ; and Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were selected to bear the penalty. The first was fixed on as being the most flagrant and guilty of the military delinquents ; the second as the first who gave the



example of treason in the army; the third of treachery in the civil department of government. They were brought to trial accordingly, and all three convicted, upon the clearest evidence,\* of high treason. The life of Lavalette was saved by the heroic devotion of his wife, who visited him in prison, changed dresses with her husband, and thus enabled him to effect his escape: but Ney and Labedoyère were both executed, and met their fate with that heroic courage which never fails deeply to impress mankind.<sup>1</sup>

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1815.

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Hist.  
de la Rest.  
iii. 320, 327.

After the capitulation of Paris, Talleyrand and Fouché had delivered passports to Marshal Ney, who was at its date in Paris. They were in duplicate, and under a feigned name. He left Paris in disguise, and went to Lyons, where Count Bubna, the Austrian governor, agreed to sign other passports for Switzerland, whither Fouché strongly recommended him to retire, at least for a time. He had actually reached Nantua, on the road to Geneva, and in a few hours would have been over the frontier, when, seized with a feeling of shame at the thought of thus leaving his native country with the brand of treason affixed to his forehead, he resolved to remain and brave his fate, whatever it might be. He returned accordingly to the chateau of Bessonis, which belonged to his family. When there, he made no attempt at concealment, publicly wore his decorations, and on the sabre which he constantly had by his side was engraved his name. He was arrested in an inn of Cantal by M. Locard, the prefect of the department, who had no orders from government to that effect. Brought to Paris, he underwent two long examinations before M. Decazes, the prefect of police, in which he spoke fully of the disaster of Waterloo, which seemed entirely to absorb his thoughts. He mentioned also his "*fatal day*," as he termed the 13th March, when he signed his proclamation in favour of Napoleon. "I had lost my head," said he; "I was carried away."<sup>2</sup>

28.  
Particulars of  
Ney's arrest.  
July 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. Hist.  
de la Rest.  
iii. 341, 343.  
Mem. of  
Wellington,  
19th Nov.  
1815. Gurw.  
xii. 695, 696.

How glad soever the government of France might have

\* Two hours before Napoleon's arrival in Paris, Lavalette addressed the following circular to the post-office authorities of France:—"L'Empereur sera à Paris dans deux heures, et peut-être avant. La capitale est dans le plus grand enthousiasme, et quoiqu'on puisse faire, la guerre civile n'aura lieu nulle part. Vive l'Empereur!"—*Le Conseiller d'Etat et Directeur Général des Postes, Comte LAVALETTE; CAPEFIGUE, Histoire de la Restauration*, iii. 325.

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1815.

29.

Preliminary  
proceedings  
before he is  
brought to  
trial.

been to be freed from so embarrassing an affair as the trial of Marshal Ney, it was impossible, after he had been taken, to avoid bringing him to justice. His guilt was self-evident; he admitted it in the most explicit terms to M. Decazes.\* Such, however, was the glory which surrounded the heroic veteran, that it was no easy matter to get a court to try him. The French government, in the first instance, determined on a council of war, and the duty fell on Marshal Moncey, as the senior marshal, to preside over it. But he declined the painful task, for which he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and deprived of his rank. Jourdan was next chosen president; but the council of war, among whom were Massena, Augereau, and Mortier, evaded the difficulty by declaring itself incompetent to the trial, on the ground of its involving a charge of high treason, which could only be conducted before a chamber of peers. This second declinature irritated the government in the highest degree, who considered it, not without reason, as the proof of a preconcerted conspiracy of the imperial party to hold back, at all hazards, the greatest state criminal from justice. It was finally determined to send him to the Chamber of Peers, before whom he was indicted, on the 21st November. He was found guilty, after a long trial, of high treason, by a majority of one hundred and fifty-seven to one, and sentenced to death by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen. In this there was nothing wrong. His guilt was demonstrated beyond the possibility of doubt, and a French court could pay no regard to a capitulation signed only by Blucher and Wellington.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Moniteur,  
7th Dec.  
1815, p. 1356.  
Cap. Hist. de  
la Rest. iii.  
350, 394.

30.

Unsuccessful  
application to  
the Duke of  
Wellington.

But the real difficulty remained behind. In the middle of the process, the counsel of Marshal Ney betook themselves to the twelfth article of the capitulation of Paris, which stipulated that "Individuals who are at present

\* " 'J'ai en effet,' dit-il, 'baisé la main du roi, sa majesté me l'ayant présentée en me souhaitant un bon voyage. Le débarquement de Buonaparte me paraissait si extravagant que j'en parlais avec indignation, et que je me servis en effet de cette expression de *Cage-de-fer*.' Dans la nuit du 13<sup>me</sup> ou 14<sup>me</sup> Mars, époque à laquelle je proteste de ma fidélité au roi, je reçus une proclamation toute faite par Buonaparte. Je la signai. Avant de lire cette proclamation aux troupes, je la communiquai aux Général de Bourmont et Lecourbe. De Bourmont fut d'avis qu'il fallait de joindre à Buonaparte—que les Bourbons avaient fait trop de sottises, qu'il fallait les abandonner. C'était le 14<sup>me</sup> à midi que je fis la lecture de cette proclamation à Lons-le-Saulnier, mais elle était déjà connue."—CAPEFIGUE, *Hist. de la Restauration*, iii. 343. *Procès de NEY*, 30, 31.



in the capital shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being *disquieted or prosecuted* in any respect in regard to the functions which they occupy, or *may have occupied*, or to their political conduct or opinions." The idea of doing so came from a third party; it had not occurred to any of his counsel, able as they were.\* Notes were addressed to all the foreign ambassadors at Paris, praying their interposition; and Madame Ney requested and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington on the subject. With all a woman's fervour she insisted on the twelfth article of the capitulation on behalf of her unhappy husband; but the Duke replied that he was not a member of the government of France, and had no title to interfere with its functions; that the capitulation was purely a military act, intended to protect the inhabitants of Paris against the vengeance of the victorious armies; that it was obligatory only on the Allied sovereigns who had ratified it, but that Louis XVIII. had not done so. "My lord," replied Madame Ney, "was not the taking possession of Paris by Louis XVIII., in virtue of the capitulation, equivalent to a ratification?"—"That is the affair of the King of France," replied the Duke: "apply to him." She did so, and threw herself at the monarch's feet, but without effect.<sup>1</sup>†

<sup>1</sup> Cap. Hist.  
de la Rest.  
iii. 374, 375.

At half-past eleven on the night of the 5th December the sentence was expected by Marshal Ney. He supped calmly, with his usual appetite, smoked a cigar, as was his custom, and fell asleep. Some hours after, he was wakened with the intelligence of his condemnation. "I have a melancholy duty to discharge," said M. Comley,

31.  
His heroic  
death.

\* MM. Berryer and Dupin.

† The following letter was addressed by the Duke of Wellington to Marshal Ney, in answer to a note from Marshal Ney, claiming exemption from being tried by Louis XVIII., in consequence of the 12th article of the capitulation of Paris:—"I have had the honour of receiving the note which you addressed to me on the 13th of November, relating to the operation of the capitulation of Paris on your case. The capitulation of Paris of the 3d of July was made between the commander-in-chief of the allied British and Prussian armies on the one part, and the Prince d'Echmuhl, commander-in-chief of the French army, on the other, and related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris.

"The object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measures of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions. But it never was intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, under whose authority the French commander-in-chief must have acted, or any French government which should succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might deem fit."—WELLINGTON to MARSHAL NEY, 19th Nov. 1815; GURWOOD, xii. 694.

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1815.

who brought it to the marshal.—“Do your duty,” replied he, calmly; “every one has his own to discharge in this world.” When the preamble was read out, which contained an enumeration of the titles he had won during his glorious career, he said hastily—“To the point; what is the use of all that? Say simply, Michel Ney, soon a little dust; that is all.” He requested the assistance of a minister of religion, which was granted; and the Curé of St Sulpice attended him in his last moments. The sentence was executed at nine in the following morning. Being brought in a carriage to the place selected in the gardens of the Luxembourg, near a wall, the marshal stood erect, with his hat in his left hand, and his right on his heart, and facing the soldiers, exclaimed, “My comrades, fire on me!” He fell, pierced by ten balls. The place of his execution is still to be seen in the gardens of the Luxembourg; and few spots in Europe will excite more melancholy emotions in the mind of the traveller.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Univ. xxxi. 198, (Ney.) Cap. Hist. de la Rest. 370, 484. Moniteur, 8th Dec. 1815. p. 1359.

32.  
Reflections  
on this event.

The death of Ney is a subject which the English historian cannot dismiss without painful feelings. His guilt was self-evident; and never perhaps was the penalty of the law inflicted upon one for a political offence who more richly deserved his fate. But the question of difficulty is, Whether or not he was protected by the capitulation of Paris. The clause in that treaty has been already given, which expressly declares that no person should be molested for his political opinions or conduct during the Hundred Days; and it is very difficult to see how this clause could be held as not protecting Ney, who was within the city at the time of the treaty. Wellington and Blucher concluded the capitulation: their sovereigns ratified it: Louis XVIII. took benefit from it. He entered Paris the very day after the English army, and established himself in the Tuileries, under the protection of their guns. How, then, can it be said that he, as well as the Allied sovereigns, were not bound by the treaty, especially in so vital and irreparable a matter as human life—and that the life of such a man as Marshal Ney? It is very true a great example was required; true, Ney's treason was beyond that of any other man; true, the Revolutionists required to be shown that the government could

venture to punish. But all that will not justify the breach of a capitulation.

The very time when justice requires to interpose is, when great interests or state necessity are urgent on the one hand, and an unprotected criminal exists on the other. To say that Louis XVIII. was not bound by the capitulation, that it was made by the English general without his authority, and that no foreign officer could tie up the hands of an independent sovereign, is a quibble unworthy of a generous mind, and which it is the duty of the historian invariably to condemn. True, the French peers could not pay attention to a capitulation signed by Wellington and Blucher ; but were Louis XVIII. and his ministers not bound by it, when they entered Paris the day after the English army, without firing a shot, in virtue of its provisions ? It is impossible for a sovereign power, any more than for a private individual, to approbate and reprobate, as lawyers say, the same deed ; to take benefit by it so far as it advances their interests, and discard it so far as it ties up their hands. This was what Nelson said at Naples, and what Schwartzenberg said at Dresden ; and subsequent times have unanimously condemned the violation of these two capitulations. Banished from France, with his double treason affixed to his forehead, Ney's character was irrecoverably withered ; but to the end of the world his guilt will be forgotten in the tragic interest and noble heroism of his death.

These observations apply to the French government, and the part which it took in this melancholy transaction. But Great Britain was also more remotely implicated in it : and to the Duke of Wellington, as the commander of the army of occupation, possessed of great influence with the French government, and actually at the moment at Paris, a certain share of the responsibility undoubtedly attaches. He was bound in honour, it is said by the imperial party, to have interfered to vindicate his own capitulation ; and, situated as the King of France was, just restored by his arms, and supported by his troops, his interposition could not have failed to prove successful. The friends of the Duke answer that the capitulation was entirely a military convention, and as such religiously observed by him : that it gave him no

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1815.

33.

It was unjustifiable on the part of the French government.

34.

Reflections on the Duke of Wellington's conduct in this affair.



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XCV.

1815.

title to interfere with the acts of the French government, an independent power; and that, placed at the head of the European army by the unanimous appointment of its sovereigns, it was impossible for him to take any public step in a matter of this description, contrary to the united voice of the diplomatic body in Paris, which was strongly pronounced against Marshal Ney. In private, it is added, and there is reason to believe it is true, he made the greatest exertions to save him; but, from the exasperated state of the royalist party in the French cabinet, without success.

35.  
Opinion of  
the author  
on the sub-  
ject.

It is evident, from this statement of the question, that what is charged against the Duke of Wellington is a fault of omission, not commission: not what he did, but what he left undone. Opinion will probably for ever remain divided upon this point, according as men incline to the strict observance of military duty, or to those warmer feelings which prompt, in whatever rank, and at whatever hazard, to the generous side. Probably time may show that the statement made as to the private intercession is well founded. But, if it should not do so, still, while history may lament that the opportunity of doing a generous deed was lost, it must do justice to the motives on which it was abstained from. It has been, from first to last, a ruling principle of the Duke of Wellington's conduct to confine himself to his own department, and avoid all interference with the duties or actions of other men or authorities. Obedience and fidelity to government, even when he deems it wrong, has ever been with him the first of obligations; and it has been founded not on any desire of individual elevation, but on a strong sense of military and patriotic duty. No doubt can exist that it was this feeling which made Wellington abstain from any public interposition in favour of Marshal Ney, for never was there a conqueror whose whole career was so distinguished by moderation and clemency in the use of victory.

36.  
Seizure and  
execution of  
Murat.

Another of the paladins of the French empire perished shortly before, under circumstances to which the most fastidious sense of justice can take no exception. Tormented with the thirst for power, and the desire to regain his dominions, Murat was foolhardy enough to make a



descent on the coast of Naples with a few followers, in order to excite a revolt among his former subjects against the Bourbon government. It entirely failed, and he was made prisoner on the beach, within a few minutes after he landed. He was tried by a military commission, under a law which he himself had introduced, condemned, and executed. None could deny the justice, however much they might lament the tragic issue of his fate. So ignorant was he of the real state of the public mind regarding him, and so much deluded by the extraordinary confidence he had in his good fortune, that on the evening before his execution, he was speaking of negotiating as an independent power with the King of the Two Sicilies; and said, "I shall only preserve my kingdom of Naples, and my cousin will gain that of Sicily." When informed that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, he for a moment lost his firmness, and burst into tears. The religious assistance, however, which he received from the Canon Masdea, soon induced him to submit with resignation to his fate. On the following morning, the 13th October, after having written an affectionate letter to his wife, he was brought into a hall of the castle of Pizzo for execution, where twelve grenadiers were drawn up. He would not permit his eyes to be bandaged, but himself gave the word of command, saying, "Spare the face: straight to the heart!" With these words he fell dead, still holding in his hands the miniatures of his wife and children, with which he went to death. He was privately buried in the church of Pizzo. However humanity may mourn his doom, reason must admit its justice; for he suffered the penalty which, seven years before, in the square of Madrid, he had inflicted on so many noble patriots, striving to rescue their country from foreign thralldom, by a law which he himself had introduced to protect his ill-gotten throne, and in attempting to regain that very royalty which he sacrificed these noble men to attain.<sup>1</sup>\*

Oct. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Univ.  
voce Murat,  
xxx. 431.  
Ante, c. lii.  
§ 67.

These alternate scenes of triumph and mourning—of exultation to their enemies, and humiliation to themselves—were little calculated to confirm the Bourbon

\* "—Infelix imbuit auctor opus.  
Justus uterque fuit: neque enim lex æquior ulla  
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ."

CHAP.  
XCV.

1815.

37.

Extraordi-  
nary difficul-  
ties which  
beset the  
government  
of the Restor-  
ation.

family in their possession of the throne of France, or smooth down the difficulties with which the Restoration was attended. In truth, these difficulties had now become such, that it was beyond the power of the greatest human ability to surmount them; and probably no efforts of wisdom would have given the restored family a durable tenure of the throne. "The house of Bourbon," it has been eloquently and truly said, "was placed in Paris, at the Restoration, as a trophy of the European confederation. The return of the ancient princes was inseparably associated in the public mind with the cession of extensive provinces—with the payment of an immense tribute—with the occupation of the kingdom by hostile armies—with the emptiness of those niches in which the gods of Athens and Rome had been the objects of a new idolatry—with the nakedness of those walls on which the Transfiguration had shone with light as glorious as that which overhung Mount Tabor. They came back to a land in which they could recognise nothing. The seven sleepers of the legend, who closed their eyes when the Pagans were persecuting the Christians, and woke when the Christians were persecuting the Pagans, did not find themselves in a world more completely new to them. Twenty years had done the work of twenty generations. Events had come thick—men had lived fast. The old institutions and the old feelings had been torn up by the roots. There was a new church founded and endowed by the usurper; a new nobility, whose titles were taken from the fields of battle disastrous to the ancient line; a new chivalry, whose crosses had been won by exploits which seemed likely to make the banishment of the emigrants perpetual; a new code was administered by a new magistracy; a new body of proprietors held the soil by a new tenure; the most ancient local distinctions had been effaced; the most familiar names had become obsolete. There was no longer a Normandy, a Brittany, or a Guienne. The France of Louis XVI. had passed away as completely as one of the preadamite worlds. Its fossil remains might now and then excite curiosity; but it was as impossible to put life into the old institutions, as to animate the skeletons which are imbedded in the depths of primeval strata. The revolution in the laws and in

the form of government was but an outward sign of that mightier revolution which had taken place in the minds and hearts of men, and which affected every transaction and feeling of life. It was as absurd to think that France could again be placed under the feudal system, as that our globe could be overrun by mammoths. The French, whom the emigrant prince returned to govern, were no more like the French of his youth, than the French of his youth were like the French of the *Jacquerie*. He might substitute the white flag for the tricolor—he might efface the initials of the Emperor—but he could not turn his eyes without seeing some object which reminded him he was a stranger in the palace of his fathers.”<sup>1</sup>

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1815.

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's  
Essays, ii.  
230.

In addition to these difficulties, which attached to the government of the Restoration from the very outset, and which would have existed although Napoleon had never returned from Elba, and the disaster of Waterloo had never been incurred, there were other embarrassments of a peculiar kind which arose from that disaster itself, and never, in general feeling, could be separated from it. More passionately desirous than any people in Europe of military glory, the French never could be brought to separate, in their views of it, the Restoration from the humiliations which had preceded or accompanied it. By an illusion not unnatural, though perfectly unjust, they associated Napoleon, who had brought on all the disasters, with the days of their glory, and Louis, though he had come only to stay the uplifted hand of conquest, with those of their mourning. Had the great conqueror remained on the throne, and the payment of the tribute, the evacuation of the fortresses, the occupation of the territory, taken place under his government, the lustre of the triumphs of the earlier parts of his reign would have been dimmed, perhaps extinguished, by the mortifications of its close; for it is by the last impressions that the permanent opinion of mankind is always formed. But, fortunately for his fame—unfortunately for the Bourbons—the course of events caused nearly all the glory to be won under the guidance of the former, and all the humiliation to be experienced under the sway of the latter. Hence the difficulties of their government, their unpopularity, their fall. Coincidence in point of time is

38.  
Great increase in  
them from  
the victory of  
Waterloo.



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invariably considered by the great body of mankind as indicative of cause and effect. It belongs to a few only to perceive that, in the political world, seeds sown generally do not produce their destined fruits during the lifetime of those who planted them : it was from Mount Sinai alone that it was announced that God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation.

39.  
Extraordi-  
nary losses of  
France under  
the Empire.

France prospered to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree during the fifteen years which followed the battle of Waterloo, under the mild and pacific rule of the Bourbons. Without any remarkable ability on the part of the administrations which during that period were called to the head of affairs—of which those of the Duc de Richelieu, M. Villele, and M. Martignac were the most remarkable—the simple cessation from war, the termination of revolution, the establishment of a regular government, brought unheard-of prosperity to all the industrious classes. The tranquillity and rest of that brief period almost concealed the effects, so far as material resources are concerned, as in the rising generation they wellnigh obliterated the recollection, of the disasters which had preceded it. From 1803 to 1815, a sum equal to £240,000,000 sterling had been expended by France from its own resources on foreign wars, besides a much larger amount extracted by military execution from conquered states. £60,000,000 sterling had been lost to its inhabitants by the two invasions of 1814 and 1815, and £65,000,000 had been paid as the contribution for the last peace. From 1793 to 1815, a million and a half of its people had perished in war, besides half a million who were in captivity in foreign states at its close. The commerce of France was ruined ; its capital, in all but a few wealthy bankers, wellnigh gone ; and its navy reduced from eighty-three to thirty-five ships of the line.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dupin,  
Force Com-  
merciale de  
la France, i.  
3, 11, Introd.

40.  
And material  
prosperity  
during the  
Restoration,  
which yet  
failed to save  
it.

Yet, such was the effect of peace and repose, that in the next fifteen years not only were all these losses repaired, but the industrious classes had attained an unparalleled degree of comfort and prosperity. In 1827, the population had increased two millions and a half above what it had been in 1815 ; and yet, such had been the simultaneous growth of productive industry, that the common



complaint was that subsistence was too abundant. Commerce and manufactures in every branch had revived, and made unprecedented progress; the revenue derived from the land taxes had greatly increased, exports had advanced forty per cent, and imports had more than doubled.\* But all this was as nothing while Mordecai the Jew sat at the king's gate. The white flag floated over the Tuileries, the recollection of Waterloo weighed upon the people. The Restoration gave them prosperity, tranquillity, liberty, unknown alike during the Revolution and the Empire, but it did not give them glory; it did not efface the recollection of former defeat: and thence its fall. Other causes of lesser moment may have contributed, but this was the principal one, and without any other would have produced the same result. It engendered such a feeling of discontent and soreness among the people, as made them ungovernable save by force. The Polignac ministry were driven to the latter alternative, but they set about it without either foresight or ability. They were at once rash and improvident, headstrong and inconsiderate; and they overturned the elder branch of the Bourbons in consequence.

LOUIS XVIII., who was called to the onerous duty of governing France during the ten years of discontent and

\* Table showing the exports and imports of France in the undermentioned years:—

	Imports.			Exports.		
	Francs.			Francs.		
1787	551,051,100	or	£22,000,000 nearly.	440,124,200	or	£17,200,000
1788	517,073,800	—	20,700,000	465,761,000	—	18,600,000
1789	576,589,000	—	23,100,000	440,975,000	—	17,600,000
1808	320,118,895	—	12,850,000	331,330,832	—	13,300,000
1809	288,495,200	—	11,340,000	332,312,200	—	13,400,000
1810	339,140,300	—	13,200,000	365,647,200	—	14,400,000
1815	199,467,601	—	8,000,000	422,147,776	—	17,000,000 nearly
1816	242,698,753	—	16,300,000	547,706,317	—	21,700,000
1817	332,374,523	—	13,200,000	464,649,389	—	22,220,000
1828	453,769,337	—	18,120,000	511,215,992	—	20,410,000
1829	483,353,139	—	19,280,000	504,247,629	—	20,200,000
1830	489,242,685	—	19,500,000	452,901,341	—	18,100,000
1834	503,933,048	—	20,120,000	509,992,377	—	20,360,000
1835	520,270,553	—	21,000,000	577,413,633	—	22,900,000
1836	564,391,353	—	22,400,000	628,957,480	—	25,380,000

—*Stat. de la France (Commerce Extérieure)*, pp. 8, 9.

Thus, in 1836, fifty years after the Revolution had begun, the imports of France had not come to equal what they had been in 1789, though the population during the same period had advanced from 25,400,000 to 33,540,000. See *Stat. de la France (Population)*, pp. 155, 199.

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41.  
Character of  
Louis  
XVIII.

mortification which followed the Restoration, was a sovereign in many respects well adapted for the difficult duties he was called on to perform. He was not the man who Mr Burke said could alone close the gulf of the Revolution; possibly, if he had been so, his descendants might still have been on the throne. Most certainly he could not be ten hours a-day on horseback, which that great statesman deemed essential to the task. But he possessed in a remarkable degree the qualities requisite to preserve from shipwreck a weak and unpopular government, in a nation whose warlike propensities, for the time at least, had been damped or worn out. He understood his time; he was a man of the age. Had he not been so, he never would have died King of France. He had no great natural talents and little genius. But he possessed in a very high degree the power of observation, and the capacity of taking lessons from what was passing around him. He had great knowledge, especially in modern history and the course of recent events, and a rare faculty of deducing from them their just conclusions. He had not lived twenty years on the bounty of strangers in vain. Surrounded, when restored to the throne, by the prejudices and passions of the restored nobility, most of whom, in Napoleon's words, "had learned nothing, forgot nothing," he, almost alone, coolly surveyed the realities of his situation, and succeeded in avoiding those shoals which were likely to prove fatal to his newly-acquired power. Amidst the rest and obscurity of peace, he repaired the losses incurred during the whirl and glories of war. He restored the finances, recruited the army, almost re-established the navy. He enabled France, after all the contributions had been paid, to fit out the expedition which in 1823 marched in triumph to Cadiz, and effected a counter-revolution in Spain. He was no common man who in such circumstances could accomplish such a task.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chateaub.  
Mélanges  
Historiques,  
Œuvres, ii.  
208.

42.  
His weak-  
nesses and  
qualities of  
heart.

He had, however, some qualities which, though not of themselves material as a set-off to these valuable dispositions, were, for the time at least, calculated to render men insensible to them. His mind was set on little things as well as great; he had a remarkable felicity in the turning of expressions, which sometimes led him into faults. He prided himself as much on complimentary notes addressed

to ladies, as on the charter by which he hoped to close the convulsions of the Revolution. Like most of the princes of his family, he was much addicted to the pleasures of the table ; and, though comparatively temperate in wine, the extraordinary quantity which he had come to eat induced an excessive corpulency, which both impeded his bodily activity, and diminished the respect with which he would otherwise have been regarded. Yet did these peculiarities, which for the time, and to those who were personally acquainted with him, were so injurious to his influence, spring in some degree from dispositions of an amiable kind, and which in a remarkable manner fitted him for the difficult task of ruling France after the Revolution. He had one admirable quality—he knew how to forgive. Patient and courteous, he listened attentively to every representation made to him ; indulgent and generous, he remembered faults only to overlook them. It was his *bonhomie* and kindness of heart which induced his frailties as well as his virtues. Prudent and observant, his reign was remarkable rather for the skill with which danger was avoided, than the ability with which good was induced. But perhaps no qualities could have been so valuable as these in the circumstances in which he was placed. More brilliant ones would probably have led him into hazards which might have proved fatal to his power, as they afterwards did to that of his bold, but inconsiderate, ill-judging successor. History must record of him with gratitude that though he had suffered much from his subjects, he gave way, when restored to power, neither to hatred nor revenge ; that, bereaved as he had been of all, he abolished the confiscation of estates ; that, having the means of reascending the throne without conditions, he voluntarily imposed on himself the restraints of a constitutional monarchy, and gave France, in the train of unprecedented misfortunes, what it had sought in vain in the blood of the Revolution and the glories of the Empire.<sup>1</sup>

The man who mainly contributed in France itself to the second Restoration was Fouché ; and the history of the Revolution would be imperfect, its chief moral untold, if it did not portray him wielding its destinies in its last stages. Revolutions are made by the great and the

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<sup>1</sup> Chateaub.  
Mél. Hist.  
Œuv. ii. 210.

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43.

Cause of the  
final ascen-  
dancy of  
Fouché.<sup>1</sup> Mel. Hist.  
Œuv. ii. 354.

bold: the selfish and the astute profit by them. "In such convulsions," says Chateaubriand, "the talent which stands on either side in the front rank is soon crushed; that which follows alone obtains their direction. It obtains the ascendancy when, having exhausted their energies, the generous and brave have no longer the support of the masses, or the energy of early fervour. But this species of talent belongs only to those whose head is more powerful than their heart; who conceal themselves for a season in crime in order finally to obtain possession of power."<sup>1</sup> Never was the truth of these words more clearly evinced than in the career of this remarkable man. The great and the good, the aspiring and the generous, the brave and the victorious, who had successively appeared in the course of the Revolution, had all perished from its effects. A premature death alone had preserved Mirabeau from the disgrace of a fall; Vergniaud and Brissot, Roland and Camille Desmoulins, Danton and Robespierre, had all been executed; Ney was about to suffer the death of a traitor; Napoleon, conquered and discrowned, was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. Two only of the veterans of the Revolution were still erect, and had increased in power and importance with every change that had occurred. These were Talleyrand and Fouché; not the least able, perhaps the most astute, certainly the most selfish of all the characters which it produced. To the former, who was the less depraved of the two, the merit of the Restoration in 1814, to the latter that of 1815, chiefly belongs. Providence had consigned the ultimate direction of the convulsion to the one who had proved himself the basest of its supporters.

44.  
Character of  
Fouché.

Fouché's early biography has been already given;\* but his character could not be appreciated till the multiplied changes of his extraordinary life had been recounted. So numerous had they been that one would be tempted to apply to him the line of Virgil:—

"Quomodo teneam mutantem Protea vultum?"†

were it not that, in one respect, he was throughout perfectly consistent. He had one polar star which ever guided his course, and that was *selfishness*. Though

\* *Ante*, Chap. xiii. § 96, note.

† "How can I catch Proteus's ever-changing visage?"



deeply steeped in the horrors of the Revolution—a regicide, and stained, like Collot d’Herbois, with the worst atrocities of the executions at Lyons\*—he does not appear from his subsequent conduct to have had any remarkable thirst for blood for its own sake. He was only utterly indifferent to it, when required for the purposes of popularity, or likely to conduce to those of ambition. He carefully watched the signs of the times, and invariably, in every instance, fell in with the passions, or coincided with the policy of the ruling power, whether republican or monarchical, in the state. With equal readiness he presided over the demolition of noble edifices, or the shedding of torrents of innocent blood on the banks of the Rhone, and advocated in the council of state of Napoleon, when the reaction had set in, a return to more humane measures. He made no attempt to rescue from the horrors of transportation to Guiana, a hundred and thirty of his Jacobin associates, whom he knew to be innocent of the conspiracy against Napoleon laid to their charge, however deeply stained with other atrocities. He betrayed successively every government by whom he was trusted. Napoleon said to him in the council of state in 1809, on discovering his intrigue with Austria and England, “that his head should fall on the scaffold:” but yet he survived the Emperor’s ruin; and after playing the double traitor with him and the Bourbons, before the crisis of Waterloo, he was mainly instrumental in driving him into exile and captivity at the close of the Hundred Days.

The secret of this extraordinary ascendancy of Fouché for so long a period, and of his succeeding ultimately in obtaining the direction of affairs, when all others who had attempted it had perished, is to be found in the unparalleled knowledge which he had acquired of the selfish and wicked in the state. He had belonged to so many parties, had been leagued with so many depraved men, had been privy to so many plots, and accessory to so much iniquity, that he knew more than any man in France of its most desperate characters. It was the extent of this knowledge which recommended him to the First Consul as minister of police, and it was the same qualification

45  
Secret of  
Fouché’s  
long-continued  
influence.

\* *Ante*, Chap. xiii. §§ 96-99.

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which rendered him, in every important crisis which subsequently occurred, indispensable to whatever government rose to the head of affairs. All distrusted, all hated, yet nearly all employed him. When Napoleon set out for Waterloo, he showed by the language he used that he was prepared for the double part he designed to play ; but he left him vested with the almost uncontrolled direction of internal affairs. When the Duke of Wellington approached Paris with his victorious army, after the contest was decided in the field, the first thing he did was to enter into communication with Fouché. Both these great leaders were perfectly aware of the treacherous character of the man with whom they were dealing ; but still they could not dispense with his services, in the state into which society had sunk in the close of the Revolution. His great art consisted in the sagacity with which he discerned, in the complicated maze of events, which party was likely to prove victorious, and the dexterity with which he rendered himself so useful to its leaders, that they were in a manner compelled to take him into their employment. True, his reign after the second restoration was not of long duration : in a few months he was supplanted by the Duc de Richelieu, and never again was restored to influence. But that was not because the revolution of its own free will had chosen another leader, but because its faculty of self-direction was gone, and a government had, by force of arms, been imposed on it by the European powers. The last phase of the great convulsion, when under its own direction, be it ever remembered, exhibited all the patriotic leaders destroyed, France conquered, Napoleon in captivity, and FOUCHÉ in possession of the whole power which the nation could bestow.

It would require volumes to portray the whole effects of the French Revolution, and the wars arising out of it, on the moral, social, and political state of France and the adjoining nations. The time has not yet come when they can be designated with perfect certainty of this designation of them being free from error. The ultimate effects of all great changes in human affairs do not appear for a considerable time after they occur ; and it is from mistaking the first consequences for the last results, that not

46.  
Vast moral,  
political, and  
social effects  
of the French  
Revolution.

the least errors in the deductions from history have arisen. Some of the effects are evident on the mere surface of affairs. The power of Russia had been immensely increased during the struggle. A dangerous supremacy had been given to the northern nations in the arbitrament of the affairs of Europe: the Cossacks had learnt the road to Paris; the Germans had come again, as in the days of Cæsar, in multitudes to cross the Rhine. Poland had disappeared from among the nations; Prussia had risen from a second to a first-rate power, and contained within itself the elements of more rapid increase than any state in Europe. Spain and Portugal, exhausted, and not regenerated, by a terrific contest which had consumed their vitals without restoring their spirit, had sunk into a state of political nullity. France in point of territory was equal, and in a few years was superior in population, to what she had been before the Revolution broke out. But her relative strength had declined, as she had not advanced in proportion to the adjoining states; and the double capture of Paris and dreadful defeats of her armies had seriously impaired her influence. Austria had survived all her disasters, and received a great accession of territory and influence as the reward of her perseverance in the cause. England had emerged great, glorious, and unconquered from the strife. Alone of all the great kingdoms of Europe, her capital had never seen the fires of an enemy's camp. Her colonial empire was quadrupled, and now encircled the earth. Her revenue had risen from £16,000,000 annually to £72,000,000. Her commerce had tripled, her resources doubled, compared with what they had been at the commencement of the war. Her navy had acquired the undisputed command of the seas. But she had a debt of eight hundred millions depressing the energies of her inhabitants, and the seeds of more than one serious, perhaps mortal, distemper implanted in her bosom. But it was in France that the effects of the convulsion were most conspicuous; and of these, three are so prominent and important as to throw all the others into the shade.

The first of these was the total confiscation of the property of the church, and the conversion of the ecclesiastical members, from a powerful body maintained on its



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47.  
Vast effects  
of the confis-  
cation of the  
church prop-  
erty in  
France.

<sup>1</sup> Ante, chap.  
vi. § 22.

own estates, to a needy set of salaried functionaries paid by the state, and occupying a very subordinate place in its establishment. It has been already mentioned, that the property of the church was estimated, when it was confiscated by the Constituent Assembly, at 2,000,000,000 francs, (£80,000,000,) and that its annual revenue was somewhat under 75,000,000 francs, (£3,000,000,) a-year;<sup>1</sup> but, when the Restoration took place, a very different state of things had ensued. Under the Consulate, the sums paid to the whole clergy of France only amounted to 12,000,000 francs (£480,000) a-year; and, with all Napoleon's anxiety to augment that part of the national establishment, it had reached only 18,000,000 francs (£720,000) annually, at the Restoration. The Constituent Assembly had estimated the number of parochial clergy necessary for France at forty-eight thousand, and the annual cost of the religious establishment at 65,000,000 francs, (£2,600,000;) but in 1832, with a population augmented by six millions, there were only thirty-six thousand parish priests, the cost of whose maintenance was annually 33,815,000 francs, (£1,550,000,) yielding only on an average 900 francs, or £36, annually to each incumbent. In the same year, the cost of the army was 339,000,000 francs, or £13,560,000. Nor were the dignified clergy in a different situation, as to worldly advantages, from the parish priests. Few of the bishops now have more than £300 or £400 a-year; and the archbishop of Paris himself, the highest ecclesiastical functionary in France, enjoys an income of only £640, less than a respectable rector of a country parish in England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Stat. de la  
France,  
1835, p. 145.  
Ann. Hist.  
xii. 201.

48.  
Dangers to  
which this  
exposes  
France.

In such a state of matters, there can be no doubt that the French clergy are in no danger of falling into the vices or frailties which impaired the credit and lessened the usefulness of the Established Church of France anterior to the Revolution. There is no risk of pampered prelates dazzling the crowd by their trains of liveried servants, or dubious abbés scandalising society by their ill-disguised vices. But is there no danger of evils still greater arising on the other side? How is talent to be attracted to an establishment where the great body of the functionaries receive less than the wages of a family butler or parish schoolmaster; and the very highest has



hardly the emoluments of a well-employed village attorney? How is its respectability even to be maintained, in the midst of a luxurious and selfish generation, which considers wealth as the chief passport to worldly distinction? Is it likely that persons of sense and information will attach any weight to the instructions, or even attend the religious services, of men not elevated in point of station and education above their menial servants? And if *they* continue openly irreligious, or lukewarm in the support of Christianity, is there a hope that the public morals can be preserved in any other way? This result, accordingly, has already ensued in France. The rural population is, for the most part, inclined to devotion, and attached to their parish priests, taken from their own class, and with whom they live on terms of familiarity. The female part of the old nobility are religious, for to be so is a mark of ancient descent: it is fashionable among them, because it distinguishes them from the free-thinking crowd who have been elevated by the Revolution. A few eminent men—such as Chateaubriand, Guizot, Villemain, Amadée Thierry—have brought to the defence of the ancient faith genius of the highest, philosophy of the most exalted kind. But the great mass of the educated citizens in towns, and especially in Paris, are either openly infidel, or utterly indifferent to religion, as a troublesome restraint on their passions. This appears in the most decisive manner from the licentious style of the dramas and romances which have attained, and still enjoy, the highest popularity. It is that body, however, which now rules the state, and will ultimately obtain the general direction of its opinions. Neither rural peasants, nor women of fashion, can long withstand the influence of the cultivated and intellectual men of a nation.

The second circumstance of paramount importance which distinguishes France since the Revolution, is the almost total destruction of the aristocracy of rank and landed property, and the concentration even of commercial wealth in comparatively few hands. That this is the case is universally known, and has been abundantly shown in various parts of this work; but few are aware of the extraordinary and almost incredible extent to

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Total destruction of  
the old  
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which the devastation has gone. It is sufficient to observe, therefore, that when France had regained a tranquil and prosperous state under the Restoration, by the cessation of the scourge of foreign wars, the annihilation of considerable fortunes, both in land and money, had been so complete, that out of 10,414,000 properties taxed in France, only 17,745 were rated at an assessment of one thousand francs and upwards (£40) annually, while 7,897,110 were rated at a tax below 21 francs, (16s. 10d.) The Duc de Gaeta, Napoleon's finance minister, whose authority is uncontested on these points, states a tax of 171,579,000 francs (£6,860,000) as corresponding to a revenue in the persons taxed of 1,323,567,000 francs, (£52,940,000)—indicating that, on an average, and taking into view the inequalities of the cadastre, which in some departments render the tax a fifth, in others only a thirteenth of the proprietor's income, the direct tax is about thirteen per cent. In 1815 there were, therefore, on this authority, only 17,745 persons in France, whose income from real property of every description reached 9000 francs, or £360 a-year; a fact, in a country of such extent and resources, which would be incredible, if not stated on such indisputable authority. Nay, there is reason to believe that the *contribution foncière* is on an average twenty per cent over the whole kingdom of the net revenue of proprietors;<sup>1</sup> in which case, the persons enjoying 5000 francs, or £200, a-year in France, would be only 17,745! The great families which have survived the Revolution, and preserved their properties entire, are very few in number; and so rapid is the division of estates, both in land and money, by the present law of succession in France, that the fortunes made during the convulsion are rapidly melting away. The consequence is, that though there is a Chamber of Peers invested with important legislative and judicial powers, it is for the most part destitute of realised property; its members hold their seats in it for life only, and on the appointment of the crown; and nine-tenths of them are indebted to its pensions or appointments for the means of maintaining even the moderate establishments which they are able to uphold.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peuchet,  
286, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Duc de  
Gaeta, ii. 327,  
329.

It is impossible to over-estimate the effects of such a state of matters in a monarchy erected on the foundation,

if not with the materials, of the feudal institutions. Whether society can exist in another form, and a lasting security be afforded to freedom without the element of a body of considerable proprietors existing in the country, cannot yet be affirmed with certainty from the experience of mankind. It can only be said that there is no *example* of its having continued for any length of time without such a counterpoise in society, in any opulent and highly-civilised state; and that all the institutions of modern Europe are directly adverse to its establishment. A powerful sovereign; influence depending on employment; all office flowing from the crown; the land divided among the peasants; and the monarch, by the weight of direct taxation, the real landholder of the whole territory — these are the institutions of Asia, not of Europe; and freedom has ever been unknown in the Oriental dynasties. The effect of the total destruction of the class of considerable proprietors has, since the Restoration, been conspicuous in the choice which the sovereign has been obliged to make of ministers to carry on the government. Louis XVIII. and Charles X. tried to infuse into it a considerable portion of the old noblesse, but this was ere long found to be impracticable; and on the accession of Louis Philippe, the reins of power fell at once into the hands of journalists and lecturers, of bankers and reviewers. The aristocracy of intellect came in place of that of property. This is not surprising: it was the only power, save that of the sovereign, which remained in the state. The physical force of numbers is entirely directed by the mental power of their leaders. That greater ability may in some cases be brought to the direction of affairs in this way, than when rank and possessions are the chief recommendations to power, is undoubtedly true. It will be no easy matter to find parallels to Guizot and Villemain in aristocratic states. But is there an equal security that this ability will permanently be exerted in the right direction? Can able journalists and reviewers, with little property of their own, and no fortune to expect from the people, be expected, in the long run, to resist the seductions of an executive armed with £40,000,000 a-year, and with a hundred and forty thousand civil offices, besides all the

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50.

Vast effect of  
this circumstance.



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military ones, in its gift? That is the point on which it behoves the friends of freedom to ponder, in other countries which have not yet broken down the aristocracy; for in France it is too late.

51.  
Its fatal  
effect on the  
Chamber of  
Peers.

One thing is clear, that, in such a state of matters, the upper house, or Chamber of Peers, affords no security whatever against the encroachments either of regal or of popular power. Destitute of possessions, it has not the weight of property; without ancestors, it wants the lustre of history; nominated by the executive, it lacks the respectability of independence. It is an assembly of titled pashas and agas of provinces, and nothing more. It can only be expected to imitate the conduct of the Roman senate under the emperors, and become a convenient veil to shroud from the public eye the reality of despotism, or take on itself the odium of its most obnoxious measures. If any doubt could remain on this subject, it would be removed by the base conduct, on almost all occasions, of the conservative senate of France since the Revolution. It is hard to say whether it fawned with most servility on the First Consul, the Emperor, the government of the Restoration, or that of the Barri- cades. It was the same in former days. "Constantine," says Chateaubriand, "formed in his second Rome a patri- cian body, after the model of the one which so many great citizens had immortalised; but that resuscitated nobility acquired so little consideration, that men were ashamed to belong to it. In vain it was attempted, *by means of pensions, to supply its poverty*—to disguise by respectful titles, dress, and observance, its origin of yester- day. Privileges are not ancestors: man can neither take from himself the descent which he has, nor gain that which he has not. The senators of Constantine remained crushed under the ancient and venerable name of 'Con- script Fathers,' which their recent obscurity only rendered more overwhelming."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chateaub.  
Etudes  
Hist. ii. 311.  
Œuvres, iii.  
311.

This danger is rendered the more pressing, when it is recollected, in the third place, what a prodigious and unexampled division the Revolution has made in the landed property of France. A considerable part of its territory, estimated by Arthur Young at a fourth of its extent, chiefly in the southern provinces, was always



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52.

Immense  
subdivision  
of the land of  
France.

in the hands of the cultivators, and divided according to the allodial custom derived from the Roman law, into equal portions, or nearly so, on the holder's death. But, by the effects of the Revolution, and the general confiscation of property, lay as well as ecclesiastical, with which it was attended, this state of matters has become all but universal. The immense statistical researches of the French government since 1830, and the admirable digests of them which have been published by the different ministers in that magnificent work, the "Statistique de la France," have now afforded the most ample and authentic information on this all-important subject—a subject so important, indeed, that all other effects of the Revolution sink into the shade in comparison. From its details, it appears that there were, in 1815, 10,083,751 separate landed properties rated in the government books in France, and that this number had increased in 1835 to 10,893,526. There are several of these separate properties, however, which belong to the same person; but, taking that into view, the government calculate that there are 5,446,763 *separate landed proprietors in France*. Nor is this all: so minute are the portions into which the territory is divided, that there are 2,602,705 families, the revenue of which from land is only fifty francs, or £2 a-year, while only 6,684 have an income of above 10,000 francs (£400) annually.\* The division of land into such miserably minute portions, without any considerable properties interspersed, is a sufficiently dangerous element in society under any circumstances;<sup>1</sup> but what must it be

1 Stat. de  
la France;  
Mounier de  
l'Agriculture en  
France, i.  
101.

\* The separate properties were in

1815,	-	-	-	10,083,751
1826,	-	-	-	10,296,693
1835,	-	-	-	10,893,526
2,602,705 families have an income of				
875,997	-	-	of 100	or 4
757,126	-	-	of 200	or 8
369,603	-	-	of 300	or 12
342,082	-	-	of 500	or 20
276,615	-	-	of 1,000	or 40
170,579	-	-	of 2,000	or 80
23,777	-	-	of 5,000	or 200
16,598	-	-	of 10,000	or 400
6,684	-	-	above 10,000	or 400
5,446,763				

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in a country where commercial capital has been in a great measure destroyed by preceding convulsions, and the class of considerable proprietors, who might have given employment or wages to these little landowners by whom the country is overspread, have disappeared from the land ?

53.  
Deterioration  
of French  
agriculture  
in conse-  
quence.

It need scarcely be observed that, in a country situated as this is, an effective or enlightened system of agriculture is impossible. Capital and enterprise are indispensable to such a blessing ; and where are they to be found among a body of peasants barely maintaining life on an income of from £2 to £10 a-year each ? Garden cultivation, it is true, is the perfection of the management of the soil—all other is but a transition state to it ; but there is a wide difference between *garden* and *cottar* cultivation ; the former is the last, the latter the first stage of agriculture. To have the garden system in perfection, an ample market for the choice and costly produce of horticulture or the orchard is indispensable. It is that which makes it appear in so delightful a form in Tuscany and the valley of the Arno. But such a market cannot exist without a large body of opulent proprietors, diffused not only through the towns, but over the country ; because they alone can afford to purchase the choicer productions of the soil. The confiscations of the Revolution have destroyed such a body in France ; the Revolutionary law of succession has rendered its reconstruction impossible, because it continually induces the division of estates. The inhabitants of thirty-nine of the principal towns of France, including Paris, amount now only to *four* millions of inhabitants, out of *thirty-four* million, which the country in all contains. Twenty-three millions of this body are engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and derive their chief if not sole subsistence from that source.<sup>1</sup> The element is wanting in France, therefore, which can alone make the equal division of land consist with general prosperity. This grievous chasm in society has rendered the distribution of the land among the cultivators, which under other circumstances might have been the greatest of all blessings, the greatest of all curses in France : like the Amreeta cup in Kehama, it is the one or the other, according to the circumstances of the people which receive it, and the amount of public virtue by which their pro-

<sup>1</sup> Mouuiet,  
Agric. de  
France, ii.  
81.

ceedings have previously been regulated. It has covered the country, not with Tuscan freeholds, but with Irish crofts: it has induced, not the efflorescence of European freedom, but the decay of Oriental depotism.

Clearly as this must appear to be the case, to all who without prejudice or interest consider the subject, it was hardly to have been expected that the proofs of it were to have been so numerous and decisive, as they have become during the period, short in the lifetime of a nation, which has already elapsed since the Revolution. The immense statistical researches of the French government, especially since 1830, have brought them to light; their admirable powers of arrangement have exhibited them, perhaps unconsciously, with overwhelming force. From the reports of the minister of finance in 1839 and 1840, it appears that the number of sales judicially recorded of landed property in France, chiefly to pay taxes or creditors, amounts annually to *above a million*, and that, great as this number is, it is rapidly on the increase, while the successions are less than half the number.\* The produce of the tax levied on these sales constitutes a considerable portion of the public revenue; it amounts to from four to five millions sterling a-year; and the value of the real property thus annually brought to sale from the distress of the owners and the parcelling out of land, is so great, that in the ten years which elapsed from 1825 to 1835, it amounted to above twenty-three thousand millions of francs, or £930,000,000—being fifty-nine per cent on the whole value of land in France. Upwards of a half of this immense sum was realised by sales, chiefly judicial, and not by gifts or descent.† It may be conceived what a mass of litigation and law expenses so prodigious a transference of landed

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54.  
Proofs of this  
from the  
state of  
France.

\* *Number of Judicial Sales of Land.*

		Produce of tax.	
In 1837, .	1,163,626	. .	79,348,552 fr. or £3,200,000
In 1838, .	1,176,563	. .	85,622,449 fr. — 3,420,000
<i>Successions.</i>			
In 1837, .	522,221	. .	30,764,124 fr. — 1,230,000
In 1838, .	502,389	. .	32,738,013 fr. — 1,309,000
— <i>Rapport du Ministre des Finances</i> , 1839 and 1840; MOUNIER, i. 130, 131.			
† Value of Lands alienated from 1825 to 1835 by inheritance, gift, and sale.			
Inheritance, . . . .	9,317,287,867 fr.	or £372,000,000 nearly.	
Gift, . . . . .	2,145,199,412 fr.	— 85,800,000	
Sale, . . . . .	11,885,799,262 fr.	— 475,000,000	
Total, . . . . .	23,348,286,541 fr.	— £932,800,000	

—*Tableau du Ministre des Finances*, par M. MARTIN, 1837; MOUNIER, i. iii.

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1815.

property in so short a time in such minute portions must have occasioned, and how it must have contributed to enrich the army of eighty thousand notaries, attorneys, and other legal men by whom these proceedings were conducted. There are in France 43,000,000 of hectares, (108,000,000 acres,) cultivated by 4,800,000 families—being on an average  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hectares, or 13 acres, to each; but of these, 3,000,000 cultivate 10,000,000 hectares, or 22,500,000 acres—being  $7\frac{1}{2}$  acres to each family.\* It is among this numerous class of little proprietors that the voluntary and judicial sales are most frequent, from their extreme poverty, which keeps them constantly on the verge of pauperism. So wretched is the system of cultivation which they pursue, that their little domains do not on an average furnish them with food for more than *fifty days* in the year: while, being surrounded by other families as necessitous as themselves, they find the utmost difficulty in getting employment to pay for the subsistence of the remainder, and generally are obliged to travel far for that purpose. The mass of mortgages or debts heritably secured in France on the land is eleven *milliards of francs*, or £440,000,000, the annual charges of which are 600,000,000 francs, or £24,000,000. The land tax is about 300,000,000 francs, (£12,000,000,) and the law expenses and taxes connected with transfers of heritable property about 200,000,000, or £8,000,000 more—leaving only 480,000,000 francs, or £19,200,000, of clear revenue to the whole landholders of the country, although the net produce of the land is 1,580,000,000 francs, or £63,000,000 a year. This gives on an average of *clear income* to each of the five millions and a half of proprietors, less than FOUR POUNDS ANNUALLY.<sup>1</sup>

Proofs, equally convincing, crowd on all sides to show

\* The 43,000,000 hectares of cultivable land in France are thus distributed :—

	Hectares.	Acres.
3,200,000 families with 3 hectares or $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres each, .	10,000,000	or 25,000,000
800,000 — 13 — 32 — .	10,000,000	or 25,000,000
One million families cultivating the soil as follows, viz. :		
Metayers paying half the fruits, . . . . .	15,000,000	or 37,500,000
By middlemen with power to sub-let, . . . . .	3,000,000	or 7,500,000
By middlemen without power to sub-let, . . . . .	5,000,000	or 12,500,000
5,000,000 families cultivating . . . . .	43,000,000	107,500,000

The remaining 446,000 owners of real property in France to make up the total amount of 5,446,763, are owners of houses in towns or villages.—MOUNIER, i. 295.

<sup>1</sup> Mounier, i. 170 and 295, 296. Porter's Progress of the nation, i. 72, 73.



how much the condition of the people of France, and the cultivation of their soil, has been deteriorated by this extraordinary, and, in Europe at least, unprecedented state of things. From the reports of the minister of the interior, it appears that the total produce of grain crops in France in 1836 was 181,000,000 hectolitres, equivalent to 60,000,000 quarters; of which about 70,000,000 hectolitres (23,300,000 quarters) are wheat.\* The total area of France being 51,893,000 hectares, or 126,000,000 acres, of which 13,831,000 hectares, or 31,000,000 acres, are under grain crops,† it follows that the average produce of an acre is under *two quarters*, while the average produce in England is two quarters and five bushels, and in Scotland, with a much inferior climate, *three quarters*. The entire profits of cultivation in France from 124,000,000 acres, are £63,000,000, or not quite *ten shillings an acre*; while in England, 32,332,000 acres yield an annual *rental* of £45,753,000, or about £1, 8s. an acre, besides the profit of the farmer, probably 12s. an acre more: in all 40s. an acre, or *four times* that in France.<sup>1</sup> The difference in the productive power of agricultural industry in the two countries is still more striking: for while in France

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55.

Deterioration  
in the con-  
dition of the  
French  
people and  
their agricul-  
ture in conse-  
quence.

<sup>1</sup> M'Culloch's  
British em-  
pire, i. 476.

\* The quantities of the several kinds of grain annually raised in France are as follows:—

	Hectolitres.	or	Qrs.
Wheat, . . . .	69,154,463	—	23,051,484
Barley, . . . .	16,444,030	—	5,481,316
Oats, . . . .	48,899,652	—	16,277,884
Meslin, . . . .	11,824,914	—	3,941,304
Maize, . . . .	7,610,280	—	2,543,423
Spelt, . . . .	132,055	—	44,015
Rye, . . . .	27,772,613	—	9,257,534

181,842,079 60,597,954

—*Statistique de la France, art. Agriculture, 63.*

† Area of France under—

	Hectares.	or	Acres.
Wheat, . . . .	6,546,869	—	14,000,000
Spelt, . . . .	4,733	—	9,781
Barley, . . . .	1,164,632	—	3,032,000
Oats, . . . .	3,000,623	—	7,514,262
Rye, . . . .	2,573,100	—	7,560,000
Maize, . . . .	631,194	—	1,534,231
Meslin, . . . .	910,426	—	2,342,000

In grain, . . . . 13,831,877 32,800,000

Potatoes, . . . . 920,689 2,280,000

Buck wheat, . . . . 651,235 1,564,000

—MOUNIER, i. 309, 313.

‡ *Parl. Papers, 1845, Commons, Moved for by Mr Newdegate.*

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<sup>1</sup> Census  
1841. Occu-  
pation ab-  
stracts, p. 14,  
15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Mounier, i.  
334, 363,  
388; ii. 110.

5,000,000 families engaged in agriculture furnish subsistence, and less than 2,500,000 families are engaged in other pursuits—in other words, two cultivators feed themselves and one other person not occupied with the production of subsistence; in Great Britain, by the last census (1841,) the number of persons above twenty engaged in agriculture, was only 1,138,563, and they furnished subsistence to 3,492,336 above twenty engaged in other pursuits—in other words, *one* agriculturist fed himself and three other male persons not engaged in raising subsistence.<sup>1\*</sup> The produce of agricultural labour, therefore, measured per head of agricultural labourers, is *SIX TIMES* greater in Great Britain than in France: an astonishing fact, when it is recollected that the two nations are about the same age, and that the superiority of climate is on the part of the latter country. And such has been the deterioration in the breed of horses in consequence of the diminished size of farms, and swarms of indigent cultivators with which the country has been overspread, that the great military monarchy of France, which in 1812 sent an hundred thousand horses into Russia, and in 1815, from its own resources alone, produced the splendid cavalry, eighteen thousand strong, which all but replaced Napoleon at Waterloo on the imperial throne, is now obliged to import sometimes as many as 40,000 horses from foreign states in a single year, and the purchases abroad for the cavalry alone are seldom under *thirty-seven thousand*, which cost the state commonly from half a million to a million sterling.<sup>2†</sup>

\* The proportion of agricultural families to the other classes is rapidly decreasing in Great Britain; but still the national produce was, down to the repeal of the Corn Laws, save in bad seasons, equal or nearly so to the national subsistence. They have stood for the last forty years as follows:

	Agricultural.	Commercial.	Miscellaneous.	Total not agricultural.
1811	35 per cent.	44 per cent.	21 per cent.	65
1821	33 —	46 —	21 —	67
1831	28 —	42 —	30 —	72
1841	22 —	46 —	32 —	78

—Census, p. 14; Preface to Occupation Abstracts.

† In ten years from 1831 to 1840, there have been imported into France 346,181 horses; on an average a-year, . . . . . 38,164  
Exported 71,973, or annually, . . . . . 7,997  
Cavalry horses bought in 1831, 37,038 which cost 17,808,342 fr. or £712,000  
— — — 1848, 37,643 — — 23,138,253 or 920,000

—MOUNIER, ii. 110. From *Statistique de la France*, voce Agriculture.

It would be some consolation, amidst so many disheartening facts, if it appeared that the moral and intellectual character had been raised, and the material comforts of the French people ameliorated by the Revolution; but so far is this from being the case, that they appear both to have undergone a decided change for the worse from its effects. Many sources of corruption among the great have been closed, many causes of oppression among the poor removed, by that convulsion; but human wickedness has opened others still more pernicious in their consequences, because more widespread in their effects. In the year 1815, out of 25,601 births in the metropolitan department of the Seine, no less than 5,080 were admitted into the foundling hospital in the course of the year; and the total number in that establishment at the end of the year was 11,391. In the year 1841 the total births in the same department were 37,951, and those in the foundling hospital at the end of the year 13,768. In the department of the Rhone, embracing Lyons, the number of foundlings at the end of the same year was 9,846, while the total births were only 16,015. The total foundlings over France from 1831 to 1835 were 618,849, and the total births during the same period 4,874,778; giving an average of about 103,000 for the former and 774,955 for the total births, or about 1 to 7½. Since that period the number has diminished: out of 4,794,703 births from 1836 to 1840, the foundlings are 486,950, or nearly a tenth.<sup>1</sup> These are the numbers of the foundlings in France: the births of natural children are much more considerable, and in the chief cities of the country are about half the legitimate ones.\* The increase of natural births over all France

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56.  
Diminished  
morality  
among the  
people of  
France.<sup>1</sup> Stat. de la  
France,  
Adm. Pub-  
lique, pp. 89  
to 143.

	LEGITIMATE BIRTHS.			NATURAL BIRTHS.			TOTAL.		
	Paris.	Lyons.	Bor- deaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bor- deaux.	Paris.	Lyons.	Bor- deaux.
1825	19,214	3,354	2,375	10,039	1,965	1,170	29,253	5,319	3,545
1826	19,468	3,637	2,563	10,502	2,022	1,214	29,970	5,659	3,777
1827	19,414	3,547	2,508	10,392	2,093	1,164	29,806	5,640	3,672
1828	19,126	3,712	2,590	10,475	1,966	1,283	29,601	5,678	3,803
1829	18,568	3,549	2,488	9,953	1,980	1,156	28,521	5,438	3,644
1830	18,580	3,361	2,594	10,007	1,836	1,239	28,587	5,197	3,833
1831	19,152	3,550	2,441	10,378	1,940	1,270	28,930	5,490	3,678
1832	17,046	4,470	2,964	9,237	1,814	1,215	26,283	6,264	3,479
1833	18,113	4,821	2,489	9,347	1,925	1,228	27,460	6,746	3,717
1834	19,119	5,014	2,484	9,985	1,849	1,236	29,104	6,863	3,780
1835	19,361	5,233	2,967	9,959	1,952	947	29,390	7,185	3,854

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 421, 460.

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<sup>1</sup> Stat. de la  
France,  
Admin. Pub.  
227.

is greatly more rapid than that of legitimate ones.\* In 1841 the number of persons admitted into the hospitals of Paris was 105,087, and the deaths in the hospitals 15,583, while the total number of deaths in the metropolis in the same year was only 24,524. In other words, nearly *two-thirds of the population die in public hospitals*. The stage, that faithful mirror of the public taste, as well as the novels generally popular, sufficiently explain the state of the national mind which has produced these deplorable results. There is a lamentable change from the works of Corneille and Racine to the suicides, incests, and adulteries dramatised by Victor Hugo and Dumas. It is customary to lament in France that, notwithstanding all the efforts made to extend public instruction, two-thirds of the people can still neither read nor write; but, judging from the demoralising tendency of the popular works in the capital, it is perhaps happy for them that they are unable to inhale the intoxicating poison. It is probably to that cause that the superior morality of the provinces, compared with the capital and other great towns, is to be ascribed. Certain it is that in all the eighty-three departments of France, without exception, the amount of convicted crime is *just in proportion to the diffusion of education*; and that the great majority of the ladies of pleasure in Paris come from the northern departments, which are incomparably the best instructed in the whole kingdom.†

The material comforts of the French people have not gained by the Revolution, any more than their moral character has been elevated. In his report on the average consumption of meat in France, the minister of the interior confesses, that the ration of each inhabitant in animal food is *not a third* of what it is in Great Britain; in France it is twenty kilogrammes a-year; in England sixty-eight.‡ Each Frenchman consumes on an

## \* Births over France—

	Legitimate.	Natural.	Total.
In 1800,	862,053	41,635	903,608
1810,	879,632	52,783	931,799
1820,	893,727	66,254	959,981
1830,	899,015	68,985	968,000
1835,	919,106	74,727	993,833

—Stat. de la France—Territoire, Population, 367, 371, 380.

† See the curious tables of M. Guerry, Paris 1834, where this extraordinary fact is fully demonstrated. They may be found also in Bulwer's *France*, i. 180, 181.

‡ Even in the towns of the departments containing 10,000 inhabitants and upwards, which of course embrace the part of the population where the con-

57.  
Diminished  
material  
comforts of  
the French  
people.



average sixteen ounces of wheaten bread a-day; each Englishman thirty-two: the former one ounce and two-thirds of meat, the latter six ounces.<sup>1</sup> The statistical tables from which these interesting results are obtained, are among the most extraordinary monuments of human industry and skilful arrangement that ever were made: they speak volumes as to the effects of the Revolution on the comforts of the middle and working classes. No abridgement of them is practicable; they must be judged of for themselves in the magnificent statistical archives published by government, which do so much honour to the administration of France. Even in the great cities, where, if any where, the fruits of the Revolution may be supposed to have been reaped, since it was they which proved victorious in the strife, the same result is observable. Paris itself—though it has become in every sense the heart and centre of France, and obtained the entire direction of its government—has shared in the general reverse; it has increased in population, but declined in the comforts of the inhabitants. The desperate competition of industry, the destruction of the great fortunes which consumed its fruits, have induced a deplorable equality in indigence among its inhabitants. The annual consumption of beef by each inhabitant of Paris is now little more than *half* of what it was in 1789 before the Revolution broke out; at present it is only twenty-four kilogrammes, it was then forty-seven. From the year 1801 to 1829 eighty-five thousand oxen and cows on an average were annually killed in Paris; the average from 1829 to 1839 was only sixty-nine thousand, although in the intervening period the population had increased by two hundred and eighty-four thousand souls. From a report on the supply of animal food in the metropolis, prepared by a royal commission in 1841, and presented to government, it appears that while the population of Paris has increased from

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<sup>1</sup> Mounier, ii.  
32, 34, 40.

sumption of animal food per head is greatest, the average consumption of butcher meat in France in 1816 was 50.53 kilogrammes per head; while in England the average of the whole country is 68. Such as it is, the consumption per head has declined in the last thirty years. That of the northern departments, embracing Paris with a population of 1,193,000 souls, was in

	Population.	Kil. consumed.	Average per head, kil.
1816,	1,193,000	74,896,871	62.78
1820,	1,184,000	77,630,907	60.284
1833,	1,532,783	85,630,686	55.86

*Statistique de la France, (Archives Statist.,) 203, 219.*

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<sup>1</sup> Mounier,  
ii. 153, 165,  
201. Stat.  
de la France,  
(Archives  
Stat.) 190,  
201.

five hundred thousand to one million between 1789 and 1840, the supply of animal food to its inhabitants has *not materially increased*; in other words, the share falling to each individual has been reduced to little more than a half.\* The difference has been made up by the increased use of potatoes, rye, and inferior food. This process of deterioration is still rapidly advancing, alike in the quantity, weight, and quality of the animals consumed in Paris. Such have been the results of the Revolution to the people of the victorious metropolis.<sup>1</sup>

58.  
General  
social and  
domestic re-  
sults of the  
Revolution  
in France.

France, then, after having gone through the ordeal of a Revolution, presents a spectacle of the most extraordinary and instructive kind: she stands forth as a beacon and a warning to all the other states of the world; for herself the warning is past. She has listened to the tempter; she has eaten of the forbidden fruit, and she is receiving the appropriate punishment. The king has been guillotined, the dynasty changed, the church property confiscated, the aristocracy destroyed, commercial wealth ruined, two-thirds of the national debt repudiated, the land divided, monopoly and exclusive privilege of every kind annihilated. All the objects of the promoters of the Revolution have been gained; all the supposed evils of European civilisation have been removed. And what has been the result? Not an increase, but a diminution to general felicity; not an augmentation of rural industry, but a falling off; not the purification of morals, but their deterioration; not the extension of general liberty, but its contraction; not a decrease of the public burdens, but their duplication. After half a century of turmoil, confusion, and bloodshed, France finds its permanent taxes doubled, while its population has advanced only a

\* Table showing the consumption of animal food in Paris in the following years:—

Years.	Population.	Oxen.	Cows.	Calves.	Sheep.
1637				67,800	368,000
1688				115,000	
1722	500,000	70,000			
1779	600,000	77,000		120,000	
1789	524,186	70,000	18,000	120,000	350,000
1812	622,636	72,268	6,929	76,154	347,568
1835	885,558	71,634	16,439	73,947	364,875
1840	1,000,000	71,718	20,684	73,113	437,359

—*Rapport par la Commission Royale*, 13th August 1841—given in MOUNIER, ii. 175-201.

third,\* real property is crushed by a land tax varying from a tenth to a fifth of the net produce of the soil, and the legislative assembly is chosen by less than two hundred thousand out of thirty-four millions—that is, by one out of one hundred and seventy of the people, and that privileged class composed entirely of the richest persons in the community, who pay two hundred francs direct taxes. The government is really centred in the executive, though the name by which that executive is called, or the family which holds it, may be liable to frequent change.

European has been exchanged for Asiatic civilisation : there has emerged from the strife, not the freedom of America, but the institutions of the Byzantine empire. France is now cultivated ostensibly by European land-owners, really by the Ryots of Hindostan. Under the name of prefects, it is ruled by the mandarins of China ; in its titled and paid Upper House, it has the patricians and senate of Constantine. But hitherto, at least, it has not obtained in exchange even the tranquillity and repose which men usually seek under the shelter of despotism. The authority of the ruling power at the Tuileries has become irresistible ; but it has been discovered that, by an urban tumult, the depositories of that power may be changed ; and revolutions of the palace have succeeded, as they did in Rome, those in the state. The description given by a great orientalist and philosophic observer of China, may pass for that of France since the Revolution : —“There is no nobility—no hereditary class with hereditary rights. Education, and employment in the service of the state, form the only marks of distinction. The men of letters and government functionaries are blended

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59.  
It has  
changed  
European for  
Asiatic civi-  
lisation.

* Population of France in 1784,	24,800,000		
do. do. in 1845,	34,200,000		
		Francs.	
Taxes of France in 1784,	.	500,000,000	or £20,000,000
do. do. in 1845,	.	1,415,779,706	— 56,120,000
Land taxes in 1784, viz :—			
Vingtièmes, . . . .	55,000,000		
Troisième, . . . .	21,500,000		
Taille, . . . .	91,000,000		
		184,500,000	— 7,400,000
Land and income tax in 1845,	.	400,029,566	— 16,000,000
Interest of debt in 1784,	.	207,000,000	— 8,280,000
Interest of debt in 1845,	.	347,641,702	— 13,900,000

*Annuaire Historique*, xxvii. 169 ; *Stat. de la France (Population)*, 155 ; and NECKER, *Sur les Finances*, i. 35, 91.



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<sup>1</sup> Schlegel's  
Philosophy  
of History,  
i. 102, 103.

together in the single class of mandarins, but the state is all in all. But this absolute and monarchical system has not conduced to the peace, stability, and permanent prosperity of the state; for the whole history of China, from beginning to end, displays one continued series of *seditions, usurpations, anarchy, changes of dynasty*, and other violent revolutions and catastrophes. But the final triumph has ever been to the monarchical principle."<sup>1</sup>

60.  
Marked  
change in  
the opinions  
of great men  
on religion  
since the  
Revolution  
in France.

Amidst so many disheartening circumstances in the present social condition of France, the natural result and just punishment of the crimes the nation has committed, there is one consolatory feature arising from the excess of those crimes themselves. This is the marked change which has taken place in the opinions of writers of the highest class of thought in that country on *religious* subjects. There is not an intellect which now rises to a certain level in that country—not a name which will be known a hundred years hence—which is not thoroughly *Christian* in its principle. *That*, at least, is one blessing which has resulted from the Revolution. Chateaubriand, Guizot, Lamartine, Villemain, De Tocqueville, Michelet, Sismondi, Amadée Thierry, Barante, belong to this bright band. When such men, differing from each other so widely in every other respect, are leagued together in defence of Christianity, we may regard as a passing evil the licentiousness or dangerous tendency of the writings of Victor Hugo, Sue, Balzac, or other popular French novelists. They no doubt indicate clearly enough the state of general opinion *at this time*; but what then? Their great compeers, the giants of thought, foreshadow what it will be. The profligate novels, licentious dramas, and irreligious opinions of the writers which form the ideas of a large part of the middle classes now in France, are the result of the infidelity and wickedness which produced the Revolution. The opinions of the great men who have succeeded the school of the Encyclopedists, who have been taught wisdom by the suffering it produced, will form, it is to be hoped, the character of a future generation. Public opinion at any time is nothing but the re-echo of the thoughts of a few great men half a century before. It takes that time for ideas to flow down from the elevated to the inferior level. The great men



never adopt, they only originate. Their chief efforts are in general made in opposition to the prevailing opinions by which they are surrounded, but they determine that by which they are succeeded.

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Perhaps no nation, ancient or modern, achieved in the end such extraordinary and unlooked-for success as fell to the lot of England in the close of this great contest. Not only had the capital of her enemy been twice captured by the alliance of which she formed the head, but on the second occasion this had been done by her own army, headed by her own general. Again, as in the days which followed the battle of Cressy, the English horse had marched from Bayonne to Calais. Enormous war contributions had been levied by indignant Europe on the conquered realm: if it was not partitioned, and swept from the book of nations, this was entirely to be ascribed to the moderation or jealousies of the conquerors. An army of occupation strong enough to bridle the fiercest passions, and tame the strongest indignation, had been put in possession of its frontier fortresses, and placed under the command of an English general. Paris did not, like Carthage, burn seventeen days in the sight of the victor; but it did more: it twice owed its existence to his generosity. Seven hundred thousand captives did not, as in the time of Scipio Africanus, bewail the sword of conquest; but three hundred thousand prisoners emerged from confinement, to evince in their freedom the clemency of their enemies, and bless the religion they formerly reviled, which had so wonderfully softened the usages of war. The whole conquests of the Revolution had been reft from the Great Nation faster than they had been won; the works of art, the monuments of genius, unworthily carried off by the French in the days of their triumph, had been restored; and if the productions of their own country yet remained to them, it was only because they did not undergo the stern but just law of retaliation, and their victorious enemies declined to follow their bad example.

61.  
Astonishing  
successes of  
England in  
the war.

Great and glorious as were the triumphs of England at the termination of this memorable struggle, the maritime and colonial successes gained during its continuance had

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62.

Prodigious  
maritime  
successes of  
Great Britain  
during the  
war.

been still more remarkable. Though the united navies of France, Spain, and Holland, with which Great Britain had to contend before the war had lasted three years, outnumbered her own by sixty effective ships of the line;\* yet such had been the superiority of her seamanship, the valour of her sailors, and the ability of her admirals, that before its termination the fleets of these powers were almost totally destroyed, and those of England rode triumphant in every quarter of the globe. From the renewal of the war in May 1803, to its conclusion in July 1815, the number of ships of the line and frigates lost to the enemies of Great Britain in battle, was no less than one hundred and seventy-nine, of which fifty-five of the former class and seventy-nine of the latter had been taken in battle. Of these one hundred and one had been added to that of this country. The losses sustained by England during the same period, were only thirteen of the line, *not one* of which had been captured by the enemy, but all accidentally perished,—and nine frigates taken in battle. The total losses of the navy during this period of unexampled activity at sea, however, by accident or the fury of the elements, were very great: they amounted in all to three hundred and seventeen vessels bearing the royal flag. The total number of ships of the line and frigates captured from the enemy, from the commencement of the war in 1793 to its close in 1815, was one hundred and thirteen of the former class and one hundred and ninety-five of the latter, of which eighty-three of the line and one hundred and sixty-two frigates were added to the British navy.† The British navy, at the commencement of the year 1815, consisted of seven hundred and ninety-two vessels, of which two hundred and fourteen were of the line, and

\* Viz., at the commencement of war in 1793—

		Line.	Frigates.
England had	-	153	89
France —	-	86	79
Spain —	-	76	68
Holland —	-	28	27
		190	174
Balance against England,		37	84

but only one hundred and fifteen ships of the English line were fit for service, so that the real balance against her at the commencement of the war was seventy-five ships of the line and eighty-four frigates, which implied probably a balance of sixty line-of-battle ships fit for service, taking into view the worn out ones on the other side.—See *Ante*, Chap. ix. § 26, note; and Chap. ii. § 8, note.

† TABLE showing the French, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Danish, Turkish,

one hundred and ninety-two frigates; being an increase, since the commencement of the war in 1793, of ninety-nine of the former class, and one hundred and eight of the latter. The navy, however, had not been kept up at this immense amount without proportional efforts on the part of the state; and in the years 1813 and 1814, the total sums voted by parliament for the sea service reached to the enormous amount of above nineteen millions sterling in each year, and the actual charge to above twenty-one millions.\* The magnitude of this effort will not be duly appreciated, unless it is recollected that in those two years Great Britain expended annually ten and eleven millions on subsidies to foreign powers; that she had all the armies of Europe in her pay in France or Germany;<sup>1</sup> that the total national expenditure was above £120,000,000 yearly, of which no less than £72,000,000 was raised by taxes within the year, on a population not exceeding, at

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<sup>1</sup> James's  
Naval Hist.  
vi. App. Nos.  
15, 17, 21,  
22, 23. Ante,  
c. xli. § 67.

and American ships of the line and frigates taken or destroyed during the war, and the number of each added to the British navy:—

## I. From 1793 to 1801.

LINE.						FRIGATES.							
	Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt.		Taken.	Destroyed.	Wrecked.	Sunk.	Burnt by accident.	Total lost to enemy.	Total added to English navy.
French,	34	11	5	4	1	French,	82	14	4	2	1	157	90
Dutch,	18					Dutch,	33					51	42
Spanish,	4	5				Spanish,	11	4				25	11
Danish,	2					Danish,						2	1
Total line,	58	16	5	4	1	Total frigates,	126	18	4	2	1	234	144

## II. From 1801 to 1815.

French,	26	9	1			French,	55	15	4		108	59
Dutch,		3	1			Dutch,	5	1	1		11	4
Spanish,	10	1				Spanish,	6	1			18	9
Danish,	18					Danish,	9	1			28	24
Russian,	1					Russian,	1	4			6	
Turkish,		1				Turkish,	3	1			4	3
American,						American,						
Grand total,	55	14	2	0	0	Grand total,	79	23	6	0	179	199
Whole war,	113	30	7	4	1	Whole war,	205	41	10	2	413	343

—JAMES, ii. App. No. 17; and vi. 506; App. No. 15.

		Voted.	Real Cost.
* Viz: For the year 1813,	in all	£19,312,270	£21,996,624
1814,	—	19,032,700	21,961,567

—JAMES's *Naval History*, vi. 500, 505, and ante, Chap. xli. § 67.

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that period, eighteen millions of souls that she had above a million of men in arms at once; and that, during successive periods of the strife, she had to combat the *whole fleets of the civilised world* combined against her!

63.  
Great colonial conquests  
of England  
during the  
same period.

It is an old observation, that he who is master of the sea of necessity must gain possession of the land also; and the result of this war proved that, in so far as colonial or distant possessions are concerned, the remark is well founded. The whole colonies of the world, in the course of the war, fell into the hands of the English or their allies. When the British flag was hoisted on Fort Cornelius, in the island of Java, in the year 1807, the last of the French and Dutch colonies had fallen. The Danish were taken as soon as the war with that power broke out in the same year; the Spanish, by the effects of the invasion of the Peninsula, were converted into allies of Great Britain, and in the end became independent. Not a colony remained to an enemy of England at the close of the war. The Americans had entered into it in the hope of wresting Canada from her in the hour of her distress; but they gained no other lasting result from mingling in the strife, but to see their capital taken, their commerce ruined, their harbours sealed, their flag swept from the ocean. The whole colonial commerce of the world had centred in the merchants of Great Britain. Her dominions in the West Indies embraced every one of those rich and flourishing settlements yet producing sugar,\* formerly divided among so many nations; and the planters of which, from the long monopoly of colonial trade which they had enjoyed under shelter of the naval supremacy of England, were in a state of extraordinary prosperity. In North America, England possessed the vast and almost boundless realms of Canada, the cradle of empires yet to be, to which the St Lawrence, and chain of mighty lakes from which it flows, opened an interior communication, similar to what the Mediterranean afforded to ancient Rome. These splendid possessions had shown themselves as impregnable to the arms of their republican neighbours as they were proof against the seduction of their principles. In the East, the whole peninsula of Hindostan, from Cape Comorin to

\* St Domingo had ceased to produce any.



the Himalaya snows, formed her gigantic dominion, and eighty millions of men inhabited her territories, while forty millions more acknowledged her influence, or were tributary to her arms. The noble island of Java, and all the European settlements in the Indian archipelago, had fallen into her hands, and their original owners owed their restitution solely to her perhaps misplaced generosity; while, in New Holland, a fifth quarter of the globe was added to her dominions, and those infant settlements were already planted which are destined to spread, in the very antipodes of the mother country, the powers of European art, and the blessings of Christian civilisation.

When successes so marvellous, in every part of the world—and which may safely be pronounced without a parallel in the whole history of mankind—were achieved by a people in a small island of the Atlantic, and with a comparatively inconsiderable population, it may readily be imagined that a most extraordinary degree of activity and prosperity must have prevailed in the parent state, from which the whole of these efforts emanated. This, accordingly, was in a most striking manner the case. Great as had been the increase in the external dependencies of the British empire during the period embraced in this history, they were outdone by the advances made during the same time in its internal resources. These, so far from having been exhausted, had multiplied to an extraordinary degree during the war; and the empire was stronger in men, money, and resources of all kinds, at its termination, than it had been at its commencement. The population of Great Britain and Ireland, so far from having declined during the struggle, had increased beyond all former precedent. In 1793, it scarcely reached fourteen, in 1815 it exceeded eighteen, millions of souls. The national revenue, which in the former period was not quite seventeen millions sterling, in the latter exceeded seventy-two millions: the national expenditure had risen, during the same time, from twenty to a hundred and twenty millions sterling. No less than £574,000,000 had been added, since 1793, to the national debt, after deducting all that had been paid off by the sinking fund; but so far had this prodigious expenditure been from absorbing the capital of the nation, that agriculture, commerce, and

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64.  
Internal  
growth and  
prosperity of  
England  
during the  
same period.

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manufactures, during the same exhausting conflict, had made unprecedented progress. The exports had doubled, the imports increased fifty per cent; the commercial shipping nearly tripled during the strife; agriculture, flourishing beyond all former precedent, had more than kept pace with the growth of the population; and the nation had, for the first time for half a century, become independent of foreign supplies. Still the unemployed capital of the country was so abundant that, in the last of twenty years of hostilities, the loan of above fifty millions was contracted on more favourable terms than one of four millions and a half at their commencement.\* And what is most extraordinary of all, during the whole of this period of anxious effort, when the nation was straining every nerve to maintain its existence, and taxation, to an enormous amount, weighed upon its energies, not only was the public faith kept inviolate, but the provident system of Mr Pitt, for the redemption of the debt, was preserved entire; the sinking fund had risen, during the war, from a million and a half to fifteen millions sterling; and not a shilling had been taken from the annual sum devoted to the relief of the poor, amounting though it did, at the close of the period, to six millions sterling.†

* Years.	Home and Col. exports. Off. value.	Imports. Off. value.	Shipping. Tons.	Revenue. Great Britain.	Population.	Terms on which loans contracted.	National debt.
	L.	L.		L.			L.
1792	24,904,850	19,659,353	1,068,302	16,382,435	13,400,000	5 per cent.	231,537,865
1793	20,390,179	19,459,357	719,968	17,674,395	13,900,000	5½ —	229,614,446
1794	26,748,082	22,294,693	1,879,581	17,440,806	14,220,000	5 —	234,034,718
1814	51,358,398	32,622,771	2,616,965	71,134,503	18,100,000	4½ —	752,857,236
1815	57,420,457	31,822,053	2,601,276	72,210,512	18,520,000	5½ —	816,311,940
1816	48,216,166	26,374,921	2,648,593	62,264,546	18,740,000	4½ —	796,200,196

—See Table A, in *Appendix*, Chap. xcv., and *Ante*, Chap. xli. § 64; and PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 1.

† Years.	Money applied yearly to redemption of debt.	Poor's rates annually, England.	Annual loans, besides floating debt.	Taxes raised on Great Britain.	Total Expenditure.
1792	£ 1,458,504		£ 4,500,000	£16,382,435	£ 16,382,435
1793	1,634,972		12,907,451	17,674,395	22,754,366
1794	1,872,957		42,090,646	17,440,806	29,305,477
1795	2,143,697		42,736,196	19,883,520	39,751,091
1813	16,064,057	£6,117,241	58,763,100	68,748,363	107,644,085
1814	14,830,957	6,294,581	18,500,000	71,134,503	122,235,660
1815	14,241,397	5,418,846	45,135,589	72,210,512	129,742,390
1816	13,945,117	5,724,839	9,256,092	62,264,546	71,612,219

—See *Appendix A*, Chap. xcv.; and PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, i. 1.

It is not, however, during a contest, but after it is over, that its lasting effects for good or for evil upon the national fortunes are to be discerned: it was in the half century immediately *following* the second Punic war, that the Roman dominion was extended over the greater part of the civilised world. Judging by this standard, the impulse given to the wealth, resources, and power of England, by the revolutionary conflict, is proved to have been immense. There is, perhaps, no example in the annals of mankind of a nation having made such advances in industry, wealth, and numbers, as Great Britain has made since the peace. In the thirty years that have elapsed since the battle of Waterloo, during which it has enjoyed, in Europe at least, almost uninterrupted peace, its population has increased more than a half, having advanced from 18,500,000 to 28,000,000: its imports have doubled, having risen from £32,000,000 to £70,000,000: its exports have more than tripled, having swelled from £42,000,000 to £130,000,000, exclusive of colonial produce: its shipping has doubled, having grown up from 2,500,000 tons, to 5,000,000. During the same period, the agricultural industry of the country has been so far from falling short of this prodigious increase in its commercial transactions, that it has signally prospered: the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies has steadily diminished, until the grain annually imported had come on an average of five years ending with 1835, to be no more than a *two-hundredth part*, in average years, of the annual consumption; and the prodigy was exhibited of the rural industry in an old state, possessing a narrow and long cultivated territory, not only keeping pace with, but outstripping, an increase of numbers, and augmentation of food required for the purposes of luxury, unparalleled in any age.\*

Nor have the external power and warlike achieve-

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65.  
Extraordi-  
nary growth  
of the British  
empire since  
the peace.

	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Declared Value.	Shipping. Tons.	Population.
1816	£35,717,070	£26,374,921	2,648,593	18,640,000
1817	40,111,427	29,910,502	2,664,986	18,930,000
1818	42,700,521	35,845,340	2,674,468	19,180,000
1843	117,877,278	70,093,353	4,847,296	27,430,000
1844	131,564,503	75,441,555	5,049,601	27,660,000
1845	132,444,503	85,281,958	6,045,718	27,900,000

—Appendix A, Chap. xciv.

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66.

Growth of  
its colonial  
power.

ments of England been weakened by this long direction of its energies to pacific pursuits. Though comparatively seldom called into action, the prowess of her soldiers and sailors has shone forth with lustre, if possible increasing on every successive occasion. Her colonial empire has greatly increased: New Zealand, a large part of Hindostan, a valuable settlement in China, have been added to her dominions, already vast, in the Indian and southern seas: Acre, impregnable to Napoleon, has yielded to her arms: the ambition of Russia, the encroachments of France, have been alike checked in the East: the Mahrattas, the Pindarries, the Goorkhas, the Burmese, the Affghans, the Sikhs, have been successively conquered in Asia: the British flag has been planted on the ramparts of Bhurtpore; it has waved at Ghuznee, the cradle of the Mahometan power in the heart of Asia; a disaster which recalls the destruction of the legions of Varus has been surmounted; and while the Continental nations were speculating on the approaching fall of the British empire in India from its effects, the vigour of the nation recovered the shock. China was vanquished, the ground lost in Affghanistaun regained in a single campaign, and the world was lost in amazement at beholding the same Delhi Gazette announce a glorious peace dictated to the Celestial Empire under the walls of Nankin, and the second capture of Cabul in the centre of Asia. Such were the national riches during this extension of its dominions, that Great Britain could afford at one period to give twenty millions sterling for the perilous experiment of negro emancipation; and at another ten millions to assuage the poignant sufferings of Irish poverty. When England sheathed her victorious sword within the walls of Lahore in 1846, her sway was paramount, not only over the whole peninsula of Hindostan, but the entire extent of Eastern Asia; and a hundred and fifty millions of men, in the four quarters of the globe, obeyed the sceptre of Queen Victoria.\*

	Population.	Territory. Square Miles.
* Viz: Great Britain and Ireland, -	25,500,000	122,823
Dependencies in Europe, -	158,729	124
Do. Ceylon and Hong Kong, -	1,242,000	24,664
Do. Asia, - - -	85,300,000	642,000
Do. Africa, - - -	288,613	200,723
Carry forward,		



LONDON, the capital and heart of this immense dominion, is a city so great from its riches and populousness, so extensive in its influence, so renowned from the deeds of which it has been the theatre, that any description of the British empire at the close of the war might justly be deemed incomplete which did not contain some notice of its principal features. Situated on both banks of the Thames, at the distance of thirty-five miles from the sea, but in so level a district that the tide flows through its centre, in the midst of a rich champaign country, and communicating readily by land and water with its richest provinces, it is equally well adapted for carrying on an extensive foreign commerce, and becoming the emporium of internal opulence. So early as the time of the Romans, those favourable circumstances led to its growing into a considerable city; part of the Tower is said to have been originally constructed by the hands of the Legions—certainly its walls stand on the foundations excavated by their labour; and, so early as the time of Queen Boadicea, it had become a place of such note, that a large proportion of the Italian colonists who fell by her arms, were settled within its bounds. Since that period, it has steadily advanced in wealth, population, and importance. The Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans have successively made it the seat of their government and the centre of their dominion; its strength has generally cast the balance in favour of which ever party, in the civil wars that followed, was fortunate enough to obtain its aid. But for its support, the star of York would have paled before the rising fortunes of the House of Lancaster in the time of Edward IV.; but for the fidelity of the city trained-bands, the arms of the Long Parliament would have sunk before

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67.  
Historical  
sketch of  
London.

	Population.	Territory. Square Miles.
Brought forward,		
Dependencies in North America,	1,720,000	750,000
Do. South America, - -	100,000	52,400
Do. West Indies, - - -	800,000	77,000
Do. Australia, - - -	240,000	474,000
Army and Navy, - - -	199,460	
Total British Empire, - -	118,548,802	2,343,734
Protected States in Europe, Ionian Islands, - - -	231,000	1,041
Do. in India, - - -	40,000,000	542,000
Total British Empire and Dependencies, —Census 1841; and MALTE BRUN, iv. 15, 257.	158,779,802	2,886,775

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the cavaliers of Charles I. It is chiefly in later times, however, and since the colonial empire of Great Britain has been so widely extended, and its naval supremacy been determined, that it has risen to such immense and universally-felt importance; and it may now safely be affirmed that it exceeds in wealth and influence, and probably also in population, any city of which history has preserved a record, either in ancient or modern times.

68.  
Statistics of  
London at  
the close of  
the war, and  
for thirty  
years after.

Its inhabitants, which did not much exceed a million at the close of the war, have now (1847) swelled to the enormous amount of two millions two hundred thousand—a number probably equal to those contained in Rome at the highest period of its elevation.\* So prodigious is the commerce which centres in its harbour, that out of £20,000,000 custom-house duties which Great Britain yields to government, no less than £12,000,000, on an average of years, come from the port of London. In its principal bank, that of England, an accumulated treasure of £15,000,000 sterling is generally lying; besides what is in the hands of inferior establishments or in general circulation, of at least equal amount. In its arsenal, that of Woolwich, are contained stores of artillery and ammunition equal to a war on the greatest scale with the whole civilised world. Yet, so salubrious is its situation, owing to the dry gravelly bed on which it stands, the gentle declivity which generally conducts its impurities to the river, and the extensive system of subterraneous drainage by which these advantages are skilfully made the most of, that the chance of life in its numerous inhabitants is on an average not greatly less than that of all England.† Noble parks, studded with ancestral trees, furnish at once recreation and health to the citizens:

\* Population of London in

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
864,845	1,009,546	1,225,694	1,471,941	1,873,676

At this rate of increase, which certainly has not diminished during the last seven years, its present inhabitants must be nearly 2,200,000 (1847;) and by the census of 1851, will probably be 2,400,000.—*Census of 1841*, p. 10, *Enumeration Abstract, Preface*. Rome, according to the best authorities, contained, in the time of the Antonines, 2,265,000 inhabitants. See the Chevalier BUNSEN, *Beschreibung von Rom*, i. 184, which estimate is approved by ZUMPT, *Über die Bevölkerung in Allerthum Berlin Trans. for 1846*, p. 59; and Professor HOECK, ii. 383.

† The annual mortality of all England was in 1830, 1 in 58: in London it was

they are emphatically called the "the lungs of London." So vast are its commercial transactions, that they frequently amount to fifty and even a hundred millions, which pass the clearing house of the bankers in a single week, sometimes in a single day; and any stoppage in the wonted supplies of its credit is felt like the shock of an earthquake over the whole mercantile world—in Europe, Asia, and America. The great commercial catastrophe which in 1838 and 1839 prostrated so large a part of the commercial establishments of America, arose entirely, as Mr Biddle, the chairman of the United States' Bank, stated, from the contraction of credit in London, owing to the great exportation of the precious metals to purchase grain to supply the deficient harvests of those years in the British islands. Many hundreds of vessels, of all sizes and nations, daily go up and down the Thames; its East and West India docks are, taken singly, greater than first-rate harbours in other states; its port, seven miles in length, presents a forest of shipping unequalled in any part of the world; and whoever has not approached London by water, and beheld the commerce of the world centred in its heart, can have formed no adequate conception of the grandeur and importance of the British empire.

It can scarcely be affirmed that the architectural splendour of the English metropolis is equal to this lofty destiny; and certainly its ruins will convey to future ages no adequate conception either of its present magnificence or beauty. Many sovereigns, as Augustus with Rome, have found it of brick, but none have left it of marble. The general use of that inferior and perishable material in the construction of the greater part even of public edifices, and its universal adoption in that of private houses, has given to the greater part of the city a monotonous and mean appearance, which strangely contrasts with the unexampled magnificence displayed in its equipages, and the boundless wealth accumulated in its shops.

69.  
Its general  
appearance  
and architec-  
tural char-  
acter.

in 1836, 1 in 46. The deaths of persons under 20 years of age have decreased in the metropolis to a *half* of their amount in the last half century.

They were in	1780	1	in	76½
—	1801	.	.	96
—	1830	.	.	124
—	1833	.	.	137

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, i. 24.

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So much, indeed, of the overwhelming impression of London is produced by the latter circumstances, that it is difficult to separate from them the effect of its edifices, considered merely as architectural structures. At the close of the war, with the exception of St Paul's, Westminster Abbey, St Martin's Church, and a few other public buildings, most of which were of ancient date, there was scarcely a street or edifice in London worthy of the metropolis of a great empire. During nearly two centuries which had since elapsed, the national taste had never recovered the shock given to the fine arts by the triumph of the Puritans in the time of Charles I. Whitehall, which formed a small part only of the palace projected by the refined taste of that patriotic monarch, was then, and perhaps is still, the most perfect building of the kind in the metropolis. Since that time, however, great exertions have been made for its embellishment—the frequency of foreign travelling having awakened the inhabitants of this country to a just and painful sense of the inferiority of their capital in this respect. Long lines of pillared scenery, rows of buildings resembling palaces, statues, triumphal arches, monumental columns, and other public structures, now adorn the metropolis in profusion, and convey at once a vivid impression of its riches, and the recently awakened desire of its inhabitants for architectural decoration. Its numerous bridges of granite and iron, which span the Thames, are beyond all question the finest in the world, and will convey to the remotest ages some idea of its present grandeur. St Paul's bears the second honours of sacred structures in the Grecian style of architecture; Westminster Abbey the first in Gothic, if the richness of the decorations is taken in connexion with the sacred associations by which it is hallowed.

If London could be perpetuated to future times as it now is, few capitals would exceed it in the gorgeous magnificence of its structures. But unfortunately they are for the most part of brick, with a coating merely of stucco, which, however carefully prepared and richly ornamented, seldom long survives the generation which produced it. The facility with which forms are varied

70.  
Its perishable  
materials, and  
want of last-  
ing struc-  
tures.



in that flexible material, joined to the desire of wealth to display its treasures, and of artists to show their originality, has led to an unhappy departure from the models of pure taste, and general adoption of meretricious designs. No one can visit London without regretting how much beauty in its edifices has been lost in the search of variety; how much simplicity has been sacrificed for ornament. But most of all, the perishable nature of the materials of which it is almost all constructed, never calculated for a century's duration, seldom surviving half the time,\* affords subject for regret. If a decline in the present sources of its opulence were to occur, and the restoration of their expensive fronts in consequence become impossible, London, like Vicenza at this time, would come ere long to resemble a skeleton, from which the once beautiful form of the flesh had fallen. It can never, in consequence, unless a change should take place in the materials of which it is constructed, present that most striking of all features in an ancient city, the union of the monuments of past with the creations of present times: a circumstance the more to be regretted, from the long period during which it has maintained an important place in human affairs, and the many illustrious names which have immortalised its annals, and of whom the enduring fane of Westminster covers the remains.

It will be a matter of never-failing astonishment to future ages, how a nation possessing the limited territory, and comparatively scanty population of Great Britain, ever succeeded in amassing such riches, and acquiring so mighty a dominion; and this history would indeed be imperfect, if some attempt at least were not made to explain the phenomenon. Probably we are too near the time of its occurrence to be able to assign the causes with perfect correctness; and possibly the attempt now made may only add another to the many examples which experience furnishes of the extent to which contemporary writers may be misled as to the real sources of their country's prosperity or decline. Whether it be so or not,

71.  
How has  
this vast  
dominion of  
Great Britain  
arisen?

\* Witness the modern ruins in the Quadrant. If a change in the direction of fashion, or a decay in the national fortunes, were to cause the shops in Regent Street, or the houses in Regent Park to be neglected, how long would their brilliant fronts survive amidst the humid atmosphere and frequent fogs of London?

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72.

First cause :  
The energy  
and perse-  
verance of  
the British  
people.

however, the attempt should be made ; and if it does not instruct future times by its wisdom, it may warn them by its errors.

I. The first circumstance which seems to have contributed to the astonishing extension of the British empire, is the energetic and persevering character of the greater part of its inhabitants. It is the more material to insist on this circumstance, because general opinion, for nearly a century past, has inclined to its oblivion, and tended to assign as causes of the difference of national character and fortunes, what in reality is their effect. When it is said that it is the free constitution and liberal institutions of England which have been the cause of its greatness, men forget that these institutions themselves were the work of the people, and that, but for the resolute and persevering character which they evinced from the first dawn of English history, they would have been torn to pieces by the senseless dissensions, or sunk in the debasing slavery, which have proved fatal to so many other nations. No people ever was more rudely assailed by the sword of conquest, than those of this country : none had its chains to appearance more firmly riveted round their necks. The Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, have successively overrun its plains : the settlement of the last was the most violent, and attended with a transfer of property the most complete of any which modern Europe has witnessed. Yet from all these disasters the British nation has recovered : nay, it has derived from them all the means of additional advances in industry, power, and greatness. Incorporating, as it were, with the dispositions of the native inhabitants, the most valuable qualities of all the races by which they have been subsequently conquered, they have come in the end to form a character which has produced the wonders that now fill the world with astonishment. If we would see what the aborigines of this country originally were, what, but for foreign intermixture, they would still have been, we have only to look to the inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland, or of the highlands and islands of Scotland. But with the bravery and tenacity of custom, joined to the indolence and carelessness of the Celtic character, have been suc-

cessively incorporated the wisdom and perseverance of the Romans, the industry and honesty of the Germans, the roving disposition and adventurous spirit of the Danes, the chivalrous soul and high aspirations of the Normans. It is the blending of the whole which has formed the British character : had any been wanting, an essential element in the formation would have been deficient, and the national fortunes probably different. It would appear that, in the moral not less than the natural world, it is by the combination of different materials that the richest soil is formed, and from its varied qualities that the choicest fruits may be expected.

II. Vain, however, would have been the preparations in the intermingling of races for the ultimate development of the British mind, had not physical advantages existed in the circumstances in which their descendants were placed, adequate to enable them to perform their appropriate mission. But when Providence destined the Anglo-Saxon race to mighty achievements, it was not unmindful of the external aid requisite to their accomplishment. Long anterior to the birth of man, in the first ages of physical creation, the strata were formed by the superincumbent deluge, the islands were formed by its receding waves, which thereafter, stirred by the persevering hand of industry, were destined to provide the asylum, to furnish the powers, from which was to emanate the civilisation and peopling of half the globe. Securely cradled in the waves, placed in the centre of the commercial highway of Europe, the nearest land to the mariner who approaches from another hemisphere, the British islands are protected from all save the aggression of maritime power, and secured in advantages the most favourable for the acquisition of naval superiority, and the growth of a universal commerce. An extensive sea-coast, studded with islands, and deeply indented by bays or natural havens, at once invited the inhabitants of the shores to maritime adventure, and furnished retreats in case of disaster ; a tempestuous ocean incessantly trained the seamen to hardihood and nautical skill.

A territory in some places level and fertile, in others rugged and mountainous, afforded the fairest prospect of reward to the varied branches of rural industry, and pro-

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73.  
Physical advantages of Britain, which aided the progress of its inhabitants.



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74.

The riches  
and resources  
of its territory.

vided the means of maintaining triple the population which has as yet been maintained upon it; a climate alternately rigorous and genial, bracing, but not enervating, at once compelled exertion and rewarded industry. Nor were mineral riches, or the means of putting in motion manufacturing industry, wanting: on the contrary, they were furnished with a profusion unknown in any other state. A zone a hundred miles broad runs across England, fraught with the richest coal and iron-stone; alternate seams of both are to be found in profusion in many parts of the lowlands of Scotland. In the forests of Britain, her inhabitants have at hand the best materials ever yet discovered for the construction of a navy; beneath their feet, the means of raising and bringing to perfection the greatest commercial undertakings ever set on foot among men. Coal for steam navigation, iron for railways, are to be found in abundance. Ireland possesses similar mineral treasures: if they have not yet been taken advantage of, it is only because the indolent and unforeseeing disposition of its inhabitants has allowed them to remain unnoticed—as if to demonstrate how vain are the choicest gifts of nature, if not seconded by the vigour and perseverance of man.

III. The policy of the British government has for a long series of ages seconded the obvious intentions of nature, and given that decided direction of the national enterprise to commercial and nautical pursuits, which the advantages the people enjoyed so clearly pointed out as their appropriate destination. So marked indeed were these advantages, that from a very remote period they gave England a preponderance in maritime affairs. Gibbon tells us that so early as the revolt of Carausius, England, detached from the Roman empire in the reign of Maximilian, by whom it was in vain assailed, took its proper place as an independent maritime power.<sup>1</sup> In the time of Edward III., the victory of Sluys, the greatest in Europe until that of Lepanto, cost the French marine thirty thousand men, and exposed the territory of France for above a century to the fatal ravages of English invasion. But it was in the time of Charles I. and the Protector Cromwell, that the importance of attending to commercial interests became for the first time generally understood, and

75.

Policy of the  
British gov-  
ernment to  
support the  
navy.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon,  
c. xiii. ii. 126.



the upholding of the navy a fixed object of national policy. The first of these monarchs, whose patriotic spirit and provident wisdom have been too much overlooked or concealed, from the vehement national divisions of which he became the victim, was so set upon increasing the navy, in order to afford proper protection to the commerce of his subjects, that he lost his crown and his head in consequence. The significant name of the impost concerning which the contest with the people commenced—*ship-money*—remains a lasting proof that the monarch lost all, because he strove of his own authority to levy a tax for the protection of commerce, which the parsimony of the parliament had denied to his entreaties. His republican successor continued the same wise and enlightened policy, which the prostration of the nation by military power gave it no longer the means of thwarting; and we owe to him the navigation laws, the wisdom of which has won the praise even of the great apostle of free-trade, Adam Smith;\* and which, for above a century and a half, secured to the merchant vessels of Great Britain a permanent and decisive superiority over those of foreign nations, in carrying on its vast and growing commerce with all parts of the world. During the war,† and until

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\* "Though some of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from national animosity, they are all as wise as if dictated by the most deliberate wisdom. As defence is of *much more importance than opulence*, the Act of Navigation is perhaps the wisest of the commercial regulations of England. The defence of Great Britain depends very much upon the numbers of its sailors and shipping. The Act of Navigation, therefore, *very properly* endeavours to give the sailors and shipping of Great Britain the monopoly of the trade of their own country, in some cases by absolute prohibitions, in others by heavy burdens upon the shipping of foreign countries. This is one of the cases in which it is advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign, for the encouragement of domestic industry."—*Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. chap. ii., vol. ii. p. 192.

	BRITISH SHIPPING.		FOREIGN SHIPPING.		TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1801	4,987	922,594	5,497	780,115	10,484	1,702,749
1802	7,806	1,333,005	3,728	480,251	11,534	1,813,256
1803	6,264	1,115,702	4,254	638,104	10,518	1,753,806
1804	4,865	904,932	4,271	607,299	9,136	1,512,231
1814	8,975	1,290,248	5,286	599,287	14,261	1,889,535
1815	8,880	1,372,108	5,314	746,985	14,194	2,119,093
1819	11,974	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	16,189	2,351,812
1820	11,285	1,668,060	3,472	447,611	14,757	2,115,671
1821	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,256	14,071	1,995,530
1822	11,087	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337

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the change of policy by the introduction of the reciprocity system in 1823, this superiority on the part of British shipping increased, until at length it became to the foreign nearly as four to one. It was this superiority, beyond all question, which was the chief means of bringing the nation through the perils and burdens of the Revolutionary war. Xenophon observes, that if Attica had been an island, the naval superiority of the Athenians would have rendered them victorious over the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war.\* That advantage which Athens wanted, England enjoyed.

76.  
The British  
colonial sys-  
tem. Its  
great effects.

IV. Great and decisive, however, as was the superiority which the industry and enterprise of its inhabitants, joined to the protective policy of its government, secured to the shipping of this country during the war over those of other countries, the nation must have sunk in the struggle, if it had had no commercial resources to rely on but such as arose from intercourse with foreign nations. So complete had been the land conquests of France during the war, that, for the last half of it, nearly the whole harbours of Europe were closed against British shipping, and the mandates of Napoleon for the proscription of English merchandise were obeyed from the North Cape to the rock of Gibraltar. The commerce of the nation with the continental states during that period had in consequence signally declined, but that with the other countries of the world had proportionally increased.† Had Great Britain depended upon its European trade, it would inevitably have been ruined when the continental system was in full activity: it was to that result that Napoleon constantly looked as the reward of his labour, and the consummation of his desires. But what he could

\*“ Ένος δὲ ἐνδείεις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσιν· εἰ καὶ νησὶν οἰκουντὲς θαλαττοκρατορεῖς ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι υπηρχὶν ἀν’ αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν μὲν κακῶς εἰ ἡβουλῶντο, πασχεῖν δὲ μὴδὲν ἕως τῆς θαλαττῆς ἡρχον.”—XENOPHON, *Athen. Rep.*, c. ii.

† Exports from Britain to—

	Europe.	United States.	Rest of America.	To all countries.
1806,	£11,363,635	£12,389,488	£10,877,968	£38,732,730
1807,	9,002,237	11,846,513	10,439,423	35,412,867
1808,	9,016,033	5,241,739	16,591,871	35,007,591

—PORTER'S *Prog. of the Nation*, iii. 102.

not have conceived, what thwarted all his hopes, and in the end ruined all his designs, was the vast extension which at the same time took place in the commerce of Great Britain with distant quarters, to which his power did not reach. England had planted her colonies in every part of the world: her offspring, emancipated and not emancipated, opened markets for her manufacturing industry, which much more than compensated all she had lost from the ascendancy of France on continental Europe. Two-thirds of the exports of Britain in 1810 were to America and India.\* Notwithstanding the astonishing success of the French Emperor in the fields of European warfare, and the indefatigable efforts he made to exclude English merchandise from the harbours of the Continent, the exports of the country went on continually increasing till the year 1811, when they experienced a great and alarming diminution. They sank sixteen millions in a single year. That, however, was almost entirely the consequence of the loss of the North American market, occasioned, not by the measures of the French Emperor, but by our own injudicious and ill-timed Orders in Council. As it was, however, they reduced the nation to greater straits than it had been in since the commencement of the war, and in truth brought it to the brink of ruin:—a decisive proof that it was from the commercial intercourse she maintained with her *own descendants*, that Great Britain derived the principal part of the resources with which she maintained the contest, and that no misfortunes were to be regarded as irreparable, but such as severed them from each other.

V. The great danger, however, of a nation's depending to a great extent on its colonial dependencies is, that they desert it in the hour of danger, and thus, what had been the main source of its strength, becomes the principal cause of its weakness. The dissolution of the Lacedæ-

77.  
Extraordinary loyalty of the British colonies during the war.

\* Exports to—

	Europe.	Asia.	United States, America.	Rest of America.	Africa.	Total.
1810.	L.15,627,806	L.2,977,366	L.10,920,752	L.15,640,166	L.595,031	L.45,761,121
1811.	12,634,680	2,941,194	1,841,253	11,929,680	336,742	29,893,549

It was the *license* trade which made the exports to Europe so much greater in this, than the preceding years,—an extraordinary proof of the cupidity for money which characterised Napoleon, or of the straits to which he was reduced in carrying out his continental system.—See PORTER'S *Prog. of the Nation*, iii. 102.

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monian confederacy after the battle of Leuctra, the defection of the Athenian colonies after the disaster of Aigospotamos, of the Carthaginian on the invasion of Scipio, of the Roman after the slaughter of Cannæ, prove on how insecure a foundation the prosperity of a state in general rests which depends on the allegiance of its distant possessions. In all parts of the British empire, however, the most perfect unanimity prevailed, for carrying on the contest during the whole of its continuance; and the flame of loyalty burnt as steadily on the shores of the St Lawrence, or the banks of the Ganges, as on those of the Thames, or the plains of Yorkshire. It was this unanimity, beyond all question, which brought England triumphant through the perils of the contest: her only vulnerable point was Ireland, where unfortunately different feelings prevailed with a large part of the people. The secret of this extraordinary loyalty in all parts of the widely scattered British dominions, so different from what had hitherto been experienced among men, so bright a contrast to what had so recently been exhibited in its own North American colonies, is to be found in the *protective policy* which had so long been pursued by its government.

78.

Which arose  
from the  
protective  
system.

The inhabitants of the British colonies were not by nature different from other men; but circumstances had rendered the policy of their rulers different. They were not the representatives of a part of the empire, but of the whole: they pursued a policy for the general good, not merely of the dominant island; hence it was for the advantage of the whole colonies to remain constant to the parent state. The great and varied interests of the British empire, in all parts of the globe, had silently worked their way into the legislature: purchase of seats in parliament had opened its gates on the footing of nominal corruption and real independence; the East and West Indies were as effectually represented through the medium of Gatton and Old Sarum, as Westminster or Yorkshire were by the voice of their numerous constituents. Talent, readily enlisted under the banner of one or other party, found an easy entrance into the legislature under the same system; and not being constrained to bend to



the wishes of an interested body of home electors, supported the policy which appeared conducive to the general interests of the empire. Nothing, it was evident, could secure the allegiance of distant possessions but attention to their interests, and the command of the sea. Hence the protective policy, which for a century and a half formed the ruling principle of British legislation, and of which the navigation laws, so vital in their effects to our maritime interests, were but a part. Similar enactments, multiplied to an incredible extent, secured to the parent state and all its colonies the benefits of mutual intercourse. Heavy discriminating duties restrained the competition of rival states. Protection to native industry at home and abroad, was the unseen but powerful chain which, through all the chances of war, retained the whole in firm and willing allegiance to the government of Great Britain. The navy of England gave that security to their commercial intercourse without which it could not have been carried on. The ocean became the highway for their mutual communication. No state could hope to obtain a share in this lucrative commerce but such as was either neutral or protected by the British flag. So strongly was this felt by the planters in the French and Dutch colonies towards the end of the war, that they desired nothing so much as to be incorporated with the British dominions; and when an English expedition appeared off their coasts, they in secret prayed for its success, and no real resistance was made except by the regular forces.

VI. Vain, however, would have been the numerous advantages, physical and political, which Great Britain enjoyed during the contest, if a fortunate combination of circumstances, joined to uncommon wisdom on the part of its government, had not established a system of CURRENCY in the heart of the empire, adequate to the wants of its immense dependencies, and capable of *expansion* at will, according to the necessities of the times. No amount of metallic treasures could have been adequate to the wants of such an empire during such a contest; if the whole gold and silver of the world had been brought together, it would have proved unequal to the combined necessities of the government and the people. The vast and imperious

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79.  
Expansive  
system of  
paper cur-  
rency in  
Great  
Britain.

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demand for the precious metals, and especially gold, for the use and maintenance of the vast armies contending on the Continent, of necessity and frequently drained away nearly the whole specie from the country, at the very time when it was most required for the support of domestic credit, or the cost of warlike establishments. When such a drain for specie set in from foreign parts, certain ruin must have ensued, if the empire had possessed no resources within itself to supply the place of the precious metals which were taken away. But such resources did exist, and were managed with a combined liberality and caution, which gave the country the whole benefits of a paper currency, without any of the danger with which it is attended. In February 1797, when the vast abstraction of specie from the British islands, owing to the campaigns of the preceding year in Italy and Germany, joined to an extraordinary run upon the banks, arising from a panic at home, had brought matters to extremities, the Bank of England was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the nation within a hairbreadth of ruin. But Mr Pitt was at the helm, and his firmness and foresight not only surmounted the crisis, but drew from it the means of establishing the currency of the country on such a footing as enabled it to bid defiance, throughout the whole remainder of the war, alike to foreign disaster and internal embarrassment. To the suspension of cash payments by the act of 1797, and the power in consequence vested in the Bank of England of *expanding* its paper circulation in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency and the wants of the country, and resting the national industry on a basis not liable to be taken away, either by the mutations of commerce or the necessities of war, the salvation of the empire is beyond all question to be ascribed.

A similar crisis, and from a similar cause, occurred in 1810, but it led to no injurious results; on the contrary, it was contemporary with the greatest exertions of the nation. The prodigious absorption of specie for the use of the French and Austrian armies during the campaign of 1809, joined to the immense cost of the campaign in Portugal, and the importation of one million five hundred thousand quarters of wheat, to supply the deficiencies of a

80.  
Wonderful  
effects of this  
towards the  
close of the  
war.

bad harvest in 1810, had occasioned so great a dearth of specie in Great Britain, in the latter year, that gold and silver had almost entirely disappeared from the circulation, and a *light* guinea was worth *twenty-five*, and sometimes as much as twenty-seven shillings. But what then? The banks increased their issues in a similar proportion: that of the Bank of England was raised to £28,000,000; its discounts reached £20,000,000 in a single year. All other banks did the same; and, by this means, not only was the crisis surmounted without difficulty, but a hundred and thirty thousand combatants, with forty ships of the line, were assembled around Lisbon, which hurled back the French legions from the lines of Torres Vedras. A commercial and monetary crisis which, beyond all question, under our present system, would have involved the nation and all the commercial interests in a general public and private bankruptcy, was not only surmounted without distress, but the property of the industrious classes was unimpaired during its whole continuance; and the nation commenced in the middle of it those gigantic efforts which at length turned the tide against France, and brought the contest to a glorious termination.\* It is remarkable that this admirable system, which may truly be called the moving power of the nation during the war, became towards its close the object of the most determined hostility on the part both of the great capitalists and chief writers on political economy in the country. Here, however, as every

\* Table showing the notes in circulation, price of gold the ounce, commercial paper under discount at the Bank, exports and imports of Great Britain, from 1810 to 1815.

Years.	Bank of England notes.	Private banks.	Total.	Price of gold the ounce.	Commercial paper under discount at bank.	Exports, official value	Imports, declared value.	Revenue yearly.
	L.	L.	L.	L. s. d.	L.	L.	L.	L.
1810	21,019,609	No return		4 10 0	20,070,600	34,061,901	37,613,294	67,144,542
1811	23,360,220			4 17 6	14,355,490	22,684,400	25,240,704	65,173,545
1812	23,480,320			4 15 0	14,291,600	29,508,508	24,923,922	65,037,850
1813	23,210,930				12,280,200	Recs. des.		68,748,363
1814	24,801,080	22,700,000	47,501,000	5 8 0	13,285,800	34,207,253	32,622,771	71,134,503
1815	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650	4 9 0	14,217,000	42,675,996	31,822,053	72,210,512
1816	27,013,620	15,096,000	43,291,900	3 19 0	11,416,400	35,717,071	26,374,921	62,264,546

See Appendix A, Chap. xcv. The table in the Appendix A, chap. xcv. contains, the author believes, the most complete picture of the statistics of Great Britain, during and for thirty years after the war, which is any where to be met with in a similar space; and he may say this without vanity, as there is not a single word or figure in it his own composition.

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where else, experience, the great test of truth, has determined the question. The adoption of the opposite system of *contracting* the paper in proportion to the abstraction of the metallic currency, by the acts of 1819 and 1844, (followed as it was necessarily by the monetary crises of 1825, 1839, and 1847,) has demonstrated beyond a doubt that it was in the system of an *expansive currency* that Great Britain during the war found the sole means of its salvation. And if any doubt could exist on this subject, it would be removed by the experience of the disastrous year 1847, during which, without any external calamity, and when at peace with all the world, the mere abstraction of eighteen millions of sovereigns to purchase foreign grain under the free-trade system, produced universal and unexampled distress, and induced such a convulsion in the country as reduced the revenue, drawn with difficulty from twenty-eight millions of souls, to £51,250,000; while in 1810, under a far greater abstraction of the precious metals, universal prosperity prevailed, and £67,144,000 was without any effort raised from eighteen millions of inhabitants.\*

81.  
The establishment of the Protestant religion in Britain.

VII. The preceding causes refer chiefly to the physical advantages, external circumstances, and political policy of the British empire during the war. But, in addition to these, there were two circumstances of a *moral* nature of paramount importance, which combined to produce the same result. The first of these was the establishment of the PROTESTANT, as the established religion of Great Britain. It would ill become, indeed, the historian of these eventful times, whose pleasing duty it has been to record the many deeds of heroism and virtue which have been displayed by the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith, to dispute that it is capable of producing the most elevated and ennobling dispositions. As little will any one impressed with the principles of true religion arrogate to his own persuasion any exclusive profession of the doctrines requisite to salvation, or imagine that the gates of Heaven will not be thrown open as wide to those equally obedient to the precepts of Christianity, in whatever tenets circumstances or parentage may have brought them up. But, looking to the peculiar



situation in which Great Britain was placed during the Revolutionary war, and the necessity which existed for strenuous exertion in all classes, it appears equally certain that, but for the establishment of the Reformed faith in the majority and most energetic part of its inhabitants, it must have sunk in the conflict. Spain exhibits a memorable instance of the manner in which a faith which paralyses the intellectual freedom of the human soul, may depress and in the end ruin the national resources even of the greatest state, though founded on the most unbounded natural advantages ;—France, of the way in which the attempt to force sacerdotal supremacy upon an age of intellectual activity, may tear up the whole foundations of society, and involve the best interests of mankind in ruin ;—Ireland, of the melancholy retention of a people in a state of barbarity, when its neighbours are far advanced in industry and civilisation, from the adherence to religious observances fit only for the rudest ages.

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The Roman Catholic is the transition faith from heathenism to Christianity, retaining enough of forms to attract the illiterate multitude, embracing as much of reality as may sway more enlightened minds, and produce innumerable blessings. As such, it has done, in the earlier stages of society, and in many places is still doing, immense service to mankind ; but is it the religion fitted to unite together the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant, the industrious and the affluent, in an age of the highest intellectual activity, and to call out in the utmost degree the physical and mental energies of all classes of the community ? There is no candid and attentive observer of human affairs who will assert that it is. The submission to authority in matters of faith, so valuable as an element of social tranquillity, is eminently prejudicial, and generally in the end proves fatal to independence and activity of thought. Mind cannot long remain active if uncontrolled speculation on the subjects most momentous and interesting to man is forbidden. The superior mental achievements and political energy of the Protestant states of Europe to the Roman Catholic, admitted by all candid historians of whatever creed, is a sufficient proof of this. A Roman Catholic population

82.  
Difference in  
the Romish  
and Protes-  
tant faith,  
which pro-  
duces this.

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could never have spread as the Protestant has done in the wilds of America; witness the stationary Canadian *habitans* or corrupted Mexican *grandees*, beside the sturdy Anglo-Saxons, with the Bible in their pockets and the axe in their hands. The spirit of Protestantism is essentially allied with great exertions of industry and commerce; that of the ancient faith is more akin to the stateliness of territorial aristocracy and the fervour of unlettered devotion. It was this difference which gave the Dutch the advantage over all the forces of the Spanish monarchy, and in the end established the independence of the United Provinces. The latter produced the glorious but short-lived and flickering blaze of Vendéan and Tyrolese heroism; but it is to the former we must look for the mainspring of the steady and continuous efforts of English perseverance and patriotism which were alone equal to the successful maintenance of the conflict.

83.  
The noble  
principles on  
which the  
war was con-  
ducted by  
Great  
Britain.

VIII. Akin to this circumstance of its religion having been that of the Protestant faith, is another feature in the conduct of Great Britain, perhaps arising from it, which beyond all question had a most material influence upon the issue of the contest, especially in its later stages. This is the lofty spirit and noble principles maintained both by the government and people during its continuance. It would be going, indeed, too far to assert that all the measures of Great Britain during the war were dictated by the purest motives, or executed in the most honourable manner. The English are men, and in their conduct, nationally and individually, is to be found the usual proportion of the frailties and vices of the sons of Adam. Selfishness sometimes swayed their intentions; inexperience frequently paralysed their counsels; ignorance often rendered nugatory their valour. But that their conduct upon the whole was less open to reproach than that of their antagonists—that they contended throughout for the best interests of humanity and freedom—and that their sway has generally speaking proved a blessing to the countries subdued by their power or liberated by their arms, is decisively proved by two circumstances. The first of these is the unanimous resurrection of all the nations of Europe against the French domination, and their cordial union with the arms of

Great Britain, after the effects of the opposite principles on which those powers had maintained the conflict had been ascertained by experience. The second, the astonishing fact that the immense colonial empire of England, in every part of the world, maintained an unshaken loyalty to the mother country during all the vicissitudes of the war; and that, since its termination, a hundred millions of men in India, embracing the bravest and most warlike states of Asia, have been kept in willing subjection to the British government, situated at fourteen thousand miles' distance, and which never had a European force of thirty thousand men in the East at its disposal. The extreme difficulty which the French have experienced, with the aid of seventy thousand soldiers, in retaining possession of a strip of land on the coast of Africa, within four days' sail of Toulon, proves that the main reliance of such distant settlements, in old states, must be on the attachment of the native population, founded on the experienced protection of their interests.

It is not surprising that the English government, during the war, should in so remarkable a manner have succeeded in winning the respect and securing the co-operation of men. The principles on which it maintained the contest, the objects for which throughout it contended, were of the most elevated kind. The British people fought from first to last for the defence of religion and order—for the preservation of the liberty of mankind, and for no selfish or ambitious objects of their own. The proof of this is decisive. They were in the end victorious in the strife; and, when they had the power, they appropriated none of the spoils of the conquered to themselves. Not one acre of France was taken; almost all her colonies were restored. Java was given back, with perhaps imprudent generosity; and Great Britain had the magnanimity to exact no severer terms from her vanquished enemy, with her capital taken, and her emperor a prisoner, than she had announced at the outset, as the grounds on which she had taken up arms,\* and the conditions on which, at

84.  
Which in the  
end gained  
for them the  
general con-  
currence of  
mankind.

\* Compare the Note of the English government to the cabinet of St Petersburg, 29th January 1792, Chap. ix. § 123; the Note of Mr Pitt to the same cabinet, January 11, 1805, Chap. xxxix. § 9; and Appendix to same Chap., A; and the treaties of Paris, 1814 and 1815, Chap. lxxxix. § 47, and Chap. xciv. § 22.

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85.

Excessive  
length to  
which this  
generous  
spirit was  
carried.

the darkest period of the conflict, she had declared she would alone lay them down. Even after she had been provoked by the return of Napoleon from Elba, and heated by the fearful chances of the Waterloo campaign, she exacted for herself none of the spoils of the conquered: no statues or pictures from Paris graced the return of Wellington to London, as those from Italy and Germany had done the triumphs of Napoleon; and the whole of the share falling to England from the war contributions then for the first time exacted from France, was given up to the ally who owed its existence to her generosity.\* So far was this generous disposition carried, that Napoleon made it a matter of serious reproach against Lord Castlereagh at St Helena, that he forgot altogether the interests of his own country in the peace, and gained for England no other benefit from the sacrifices which had preceded it, but the stars and ribbons bestowed on himself by the Allied powers.† Nor was the conduct of England during the contest unworthy of the principles on which it had been undertaken and maintained. Whatever faults she committed, and they were many, were to her own loss

\* The King of the Netherlands, who received it to reconstruct the barrier against France in the Low Countries.

† "If," said Napoleon, "your ministers had paid attention to the interests of your country, instead of intriguing, they would have rendered you the most happy and flourishing nation in the world. At the conclusion of the war, they should have said to the Spanish and Portuguese governments,—'we have saved your country; we alone have supported you, and prevented your falling a prey to France; we have made many campaigns, and our best blood has been shed in your defence; we have expended many millions of money, and consequently, the nation is overburdened with debt on your account, which we must pay; you have the means of repaying us. We demand, therefore, that we shall be the only nation allowed to trade with South America during twenty years, and that our ships shall have the same privileges with Spanish vessels. Who could say *no* to this? It would only have been a just demand, and none of the Allied powers could deny your right to exact it; for it was through you alone, and the energy you displayed, that both Spain and Portugal did not fall. You might have asked, who saved Portugal? who alone assisted you with men and money, besides having saved your existence as a nation. As it now is, France will soon have the trade to the Brazils. Another piece of folly in your ministers was, in allowing any other nation but yourselves to trade with India. If you had made these demands, they must have been granted; and the powers of Europe would not have been more jealous of you than they now are, and always will be as long as you have the dominion of the seas, and insist on the right of search. You would then have had the means of keeping up your maritime empire, which must decay, if you have not more commerce than the rest of the world. England has played for every thing or nothing: she has gained all, effected impossibilities, yet has nothing; and her people are starving, and worse than they were during the midst of the war.'—O'MEARA, i. 261, 264. Without asserting that all these strictures of Napoleon are well founded, it may at least be confidently asserted, that they demonstrate on the best of all evidence, that of an able and unwilling witness, the *disinterested* principles on which England maintained the contest, and concluded the peace.



and the oppression of herself alone. No war contributions or confiscations attended her armies when they landed in Europe; no authorised and organised system of plunder relieved her of the burdens of the contest, at the expense of the inhabitants of the conquered territories. Her immense expenditure and unexampled war contributions were levied upon her own inhabitants alone. No neutral or allied powers had to rue the day when she made peace. She concluded it without exacting cessions either from her enemies or friends. So strict was the discipline maintained by her chiefs even in the enemy's territory, that their own generals confessed that "every peasant wished to be placed under his protection;"<sup>1</sup> and the first act of Louis XVIII., on his second restoration to the throne, was to thank the Duke of Wellington and his officers, in presence of his whole court, for the protection they had bestowed on his unhappy subjects.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ante, chap.  
lxxxviii. § 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ante, chap.  
xcv. § 15.

Such, so far as at present can be discerned, were the principal causes which gave Great Britain the final victory in this protracted and memorable contest. But immortality is not the destiny of communities any more than of single men; and sin has brought death to nations not less than individuals. Out of the triumph of the conquerors have arisen evils as great, selfishness as intense, dangers as pressing, as have attached to the vanquished from the entire overthrow of society. The victory of property has been attended with a great destruction of property, a disregard of the rights of others, in some respects as complete as that of numbers in the sister kingdom. It is in the selfishness of the dominant class, the growth of their desires, and the dereliction of their principles from the very effects of their success, that the causes of these disastrous results are to be found. Prosperity, both in France and England, has produced its usual effect of developing the seeds of evil, by increasing the sway of selfish desires in the classes in these respective countries which have obtained the mastery. In the former have been exemplified the disasters which would have resulted from the triumph of Gracchus in the Roman republic: in the latter, the principles of ruin

86.  
Principles of  
decay im-  
planted in  
the British  
empire by its  
success in  
the strife.

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which, from the continued ascendant of the patricians, at length overturned the vast and splendid fabric of the empire. It will be the duty of a future historian to unfold the causes which have in this manner prepared the decline and fall of the British empire: it has been the more agreeable province of him whose labours are concluding, to trace the progress of its rise and greatness. Yet a few observations will not be misplaced on the social results which have in this country attended its magnificent triumphs; for subsequent experience has unfolded many of the causes of past prosperity, and the difficulties with which we are now surrounded throw the clearest light on the wisdom of the measures by which those of former times have been surmounted.

87.  
Present evils  
which  
threaten  
the British  
empire.

It need be told to none of this generation—it will be painfully evident to posterity—in what serious embarrassments Great Britain has been involved since the peace. In truth, they have been so great and pressing, that it is hard to say whether they have not exceeded all the dangers and difficulties of the war. Barely concealed beneath the splendid surface of highly advanced civilisation, lie smouldering the sparks of a conflagration which may, at no distant period, involve the empire in ruin. If its fall is not sudden from a maritime disaster, like that at Aigospotamos, which at once destroyed the Athenian republic, it will assuredly dwindle away under the causes which undermined the vast fabric of Roman power. Already they are to be seen in full and portentous activity amongst us. The wealth of individuals, and poverty of the state, the luxury of the rich, and misery of the poor, the progressive and oppressive weight of direct taxation, the impossibility of maintaining an establishment of land and sea forces equal to the necessities of a wide-spread dominion, the indifference of the affluent to the sufferings of the destitute, the exasperation of the many at the fortunes of the few, the increasing dependence of the nation on foreign supplies of food, the constant drain thence resulting upon its metallic resources; the ceaseless growth of debt, the progressive diminution in the remuneration of labour, the prostration of the interests of rural before the ascendant of urban activity, the continued growth of crime, and failure of all efforts

either to deter or check it, the appalling increase of pauperism, and extension of the reckless habits among the working classes which produce it, so often and feelingly complained of by the historians of antiquity, are precisely applicable to the British empire at this time.\*

If we are not threatened by a hostile girdle of barbarous nations thirsting for the spoils of the empire, our dangers are not less real from the ill-disguised jealousy of civilised ambition: if half our population are not slaves, a seventh of them are already paupers,† in still more deplorable circumstances: if we are not reduced to look to the harvests of Egypt and Lybia for our daily bread, free-trade is preparing a similar dependence on those of Poland and America.‡ Serious crime during the last forty years has advanced in the British islands *ten times* as fast as the numbers of the people; all the efforts of philanthropy and instruction seem unable to restrain it.§ Population in the manufacturing districts has not only outgrown the means, but extinguished in a large class the desire of religious instruction; the sinking fund, after

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88.  
Symptoms  
of decay in  
the British  
empire since  
the peace.

\* "Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam: publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos nullum discrimen; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.*

	Paupers relieved in England.	Paupers in United Kingdom.
† 1843	- 1,307,899	- England, 1,250,000
1844	- 1,249,682	- Ireland, 2,300,000
		Scotland, 200,000

3,750,000

or a *seventh* of the whole population nearly, which was in 1844 27,500,000.—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 82, 91, 2d edition; and ALISON'S *England in 1815 and 1845*, p. 12.

‡ In fifteen months; from August 1846, when free-trade was introduced, to November 1847, Great Britain imported 14,200,000 quarters of foreign grain, though the harvest of 1847 was uncommonly fine; and the money sent abroad for this prodigious supply, nearly a fourth of the annual consumption of the nation, was £33,560,000 sterling.—*Chancellor of Exchequer's Speech*, 30th November 1847.

§	Committals in England.	Committals in England.	Population of England.
1805,	4,605	1840,	27,187
1806,	4,346	1841,	27,760
1807,	4,446	1842,	31,309
1809,	5,330	1843,	29,591
1810,	5,146	1844,	26,542
1811,	5,337	1845,	24,303
			15,500,000 in 1845

This shows an increase of crime above six-fold in forty years; while during the same time the population has only advanced from eighty-nine to one hundred and fifty-five, or as nine to fifteen—that is, about *sixty per cent.* Crime, therefore, has increased ten times as fast as the numbers of the people. In Scotland, the growth of crime has been still more rapid.—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 2d edition, pp. 8 and 642.

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thirty years' cessation of hostilities, has, on an average of years, disappeared; recourse has been found to be unavoidable, even during profound peace, to the *ultimum remedium* of direct taxation; the proportion of foreign vessels which carry on our commerce is steadily and rapidly increasing; and with a population twice as numerous, and resources four times as great as they were in 1792, and a colonial empire of triple the magnitude to defend, we have not half the effective navy at our disposal which we had when the war broke out.\*

Various changes of the most important kind in our internal and external policy since the peace have coexisted with these remarkable features in our social condition. First and most important in its consequences has been the great alteration in the monetary system of the empire by the act of 1819, compelling the bank of England to resume payments in cash, followed by those of 1826, prohibiting the issue of one-pound notes by all English banks, and of 1844, restricting the issue of paper by the bank of England, on any other security but an equal amount of specie in its coffers, to £14,000,000 sterling, with similar acts for Scotland and Ireland. Without pronouncing an opinion on abstract grounds in this work on the expedience of these changes, the effects of which have not yet been fully ascertained by experience, it may be observed, that it has already been decisively proved that they have added forty per cent to the weight of all debts, and taken as much from the remuneration of productive labour

89.

Vast changes  
in our social  
policy since  
the peace.  
The currency  
system.

\* Table showing the comparative growth of British and foreign shipping from 1816 to 1844.

Yrs.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	Total.	Yrs.	British Tons.	Foreign Tons.	Total.
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188	1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132	1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959
1818	1,886,394	762,457	2,648,851	1833	2,183,814	762,065	2,945,899
1819	1,809,128	542,654	2,351,812	1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168
1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671	1835	2,442,734	866,90	3,309,724
*1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530	1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337	1837	2,617,166	1,005,940	3,623,106
1823	1,740,889	582,996	2,323,885	1838	2,785,387	1,211,666	3,997,053
1824	1,797,320	759,441	2,556,761	1839	2,101,650	1,331,365	4,433,015
1825	2,144,598	958,132	3,102,730	1840	3,197,501	1,460,294	4,657,795
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746	1841	3,361,211	1,291,165	4,612,376
1827	2,066,898	751,864	2,839,762	1842	3,294,725	1,205,303	4,500,028
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977	1843	3,545,346	1,301,958	4,847,296
1829	2,184,525	710,303	2,894,828	1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601
1830	2,180,042	758,828	2,938,870	1845	4,310,639	1,735,079	6,045,718

\* Reciprocity system introduced.



throughout the empire: that they have extinguished, practically speaking, the sinking fund, and rendered indirect taxes so unproductive, that a recurrence to direct taxation, even in a period of profound peace, has become unavoidable: that they have compelled government to starve down the military and naval establishments of the empire to a degree inconsistent with its security, and which may ere long endanger its independence; and have rendered it more difficult now to raise fifty millions a-year from twenty-eight millions of men, than in the latter years of the war it was to raise seventy millions a-year from eighteen millions. And if it be said that these evils were unavoidable, and the price which the nation pays for shunning the dangers of an unrestricted issue of paper, the South American madness of 1824 and 1825, followed by the dreadful monetary crisis in the close of the latter year; the joint stock mania of 1835 and 1836, succeeded by the severe and protracted depression from 1838 to 1843; and the railway mania of 1845, terminating in the monetary crisis of 1847, sufficiently demonstrate that the metallic system affords no security against these dangers, but, on the contrary, by rendering commercial credit dependent on the plenty or scarcity of that most shifting and evanescent of earthly things, a gold currency, in the highest degree aggravates them.\*

This great change was followed, four years afterwards, by one equally important to our maritime interests. In February 1823 Mr Huskisson introduced the *reciprocity system*, by which Great Britain announced its determination to admit the ships of all nations, which would agree to the proposal, into her harbours, on the same terms on which they admitted hers. Experience has in like manner already demonstrated the effect of this system. The foreign tonnage employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain—which, as already shown, rapidly declined, while the British as rapidly increased throughout the whole war, and for eight years after its termination,<sup>1</sup>—at once began to gain the ascendancy upon that change being introduced; until now, instead of the British shipping employed in carrying on the commerce

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90.  
The reciprocity system.

<sup>1</sup> Ante, Chap. xcv. § 62, note.

\* See Appendix A, Chap. xcv. for the proof of these observations.

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of the empire being quadruple of the foreign, it is barely double of it.\* In fifteen years more, at the same rate of progress, the foreign shipping employed in carrying on the trade of Great Britain will be equal to its own, and in fifteen more it will *greatly exceed it*. The moment that occurs, the independence of the empire will be a mere name; for what reliance can a maritime state place on its means of defence, if it has reared up, in conducting its own traffic, a body of foreign seamen superior to its own, who may at any moment be ranged in hostility against it? Vain, worse than vain, in such an event would be the magnitude of its exports, and the vast extent of its manufacturing industry. Of what avail would be the hundred and thirty millions of foreign exports if hostile fleets blockaded the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde? Like a beleaguered city encumbered with useless mouths, it would only find in the multitude who produced them a burden which would compel its speedy surrender. Less conspicuous to the unthinking many, because less prejudicial to general interests, this great change in our policy is even more formidable in its consequences than the alteration in our monetary system, from which such widespread financial distress has followed; for it strikes at the national independence, on which all our other blessings depend. Yet, such is the disregard of remote consequences in the great majority of men, when their interests or supposed interests are concerned, that nothing seems more certain than that this main security of our independence will ere long be swept away, and the navigation

Years.	British.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1819	11,974	1,809,128	4,215	542,684	16,189	2,351,812
1820	11,285	1,668,060	3,472	447,611	14,757	2,115,671
1821	10,810	1,599,274	3,261	396,256	14,071	1,995,630
1822	11,087	1,664,186	3,389	469,151	14,476	2,133,337
1840	17,833	3,197,501	10,198	1,460,294	28,031	4,657,795
1841	18,525	3,361,211	9,527	1,291,165	28,052	4,652,376
1842	18,987	3,294,725	8,654	1,205,303	27,041	4,500,028
1843	19,500	3,545,346	8,541	1,301,950	28,041	4,847,296
1844	19,687	3,647,463	9,608	1,402,138	29,295	5,049,601
1845	21,001	4,310,639	11,651	1,735,079	32,652	6,045,718

--PORTER's *Progress of the Nation*, ii. 174; and *Part. Tables*, 1840-44, pp. 52 and 53 each year; and PORTER's *Progress of the Nation*, 406, 2d edit.

laws, the bulwark of our navy, be numbered among the things that have been.

So many alterations in the political and religious policy of the empire could not have been adopted without inducing a change, gradual or violent, in its government. The misery produced was so general, that a large portion of the people became not only indifferent to, but desirous of change—the shock given to established feelings, perhaps prejudices, so violent, that the main bulwark against innovation was cast down. So many of the commercial classes in particular, who earned their livelihood by buying and selling, had been involved in difficulties or insolvency by the constant fall in the price of commodities which followed the contraction of the currency, that the desire for an extension of political power became universal amongst them, from the belief that it would enable them to ward off these effects: so profound were the feelings of indignation which pervaded a large part of those who were strongly impressed with religious feelings, from the manner in which Catholic emancipation had been carried, that they too had come to think some change had become indispensable, or, from resentment at its authors, resolved not to oppose it. Amidst a “chaos of unanimity,” as it has been well styled, produced by these causes, the Reform Bill was carried: the close boroughs, the channel of colonial representation, were closed; and the government of the empire was vested, with scarcely any control, in a million electors of Great Britain and Ireland.

It was foreseen and predicted at the time,\* what sub-

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91.  
Passing of  
the Reform  
Bill.

\* “This consideration points to the fundamental and irremediable defect of the proposed constitution, that it vests an overwhelming majority in the *populace of these islands*, to the exclusion of the other great and weighty interests of the British empire. By vesting the right of returning members to parliament in forty-shilling freeholders in the counties, and ten-pound tenants in towns, the command of the legislature will be placed in hands inaccessible, save by actual bribery, to the approach of the colonial or shipping interests. If such a change does not produce a revolution, it must in the end lead to the dismemberment of the empire. The East and West Indian and Canadian dependencies will not long submit to the rule of the populace in the *dominant island*, indifferent to their interests, ignorant of their circumstances, careless of their welfare. This evil is inherent in any system of *uniform representation*, and must, to the end of time, render it unfit for the legislature of a great and varied empire. Being based mainly upon one class of society, which under the proposed system will be that of shopkeepers, it contains no provision for the interests of the other classes, and still less for the welfare of the remote but important parts of the empire. These remote possessions being unrepresented, can have no influence on the electors but by the corrupt channel of actual bribery. The most valu-

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92.

Its tendency  
to break up  
the empire.

sequent events have abundantly verified, that the effect of this great change would be to break up the bond of union which had hitherto in so wonderful a manner held together the British empire, and by impelling the national policy into measures dictated by the selfish desires of the majority in the *dominant island*, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented colonies, render probable, if not certain, at no distant period, their separation from the parent state, and consequent ruin of its maritime superiority. Such an effect has already taken place, or is in the course of being realised: Canada has broken into open revolt, and still remains attached to the parent state by a slender bond; the West Indies have been prevented from following the example only by the prostration of their resources, under the effects of negro emancipation; and the discontent produced by the abolition of the benefit of colonial protection from the consequences of free-trade render it a matter of certainty that, on the first serious reverse to the state, they will, like the colonies of Athens or Carthage on a similar crisis, and from a similar cause, declare themselves independent, or openly range themselves under the banner of our enemies.

93.

The reform  
movement  
is turned into  
the desire for  
free-trade,  
which is  
carried.

So vast was the power enjoyed by the leaders of the reform movement under the first parliament returned by the new constitution, so vehemently was a large part of the nation set upon revolutionary measures, that if they had chosen to have gone on in the career, the British constitution was at an end. Beyond all question they might have abolished the house of peers, confiscated the church property, annihilated the national debt, dethroned the sovereign. The besom of destruction was as firmly placed in their hands as ever it had been in those of Mirabeau and the Constituent Assembly. But

able feature of the British constitution, that of affording an inlet through the close boroughs to all the great and varied interests of the empire, will be destroyed. The Reform Bill in this view should be entitled 'a bill for *disfranchising the colonial and shipping interests*, and vesting the exclusive right of returning members to parliament in the populace of Great Britain and Ireland.'" *On Parliamentary Reform and the French Revolution, No. V.; Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1, 1831. The author, at the distance of seventeen years, can reflect with satisfaction that he has nothing to unsay or regret in a prediction made during the heat of the first discussions on the Reform Bill; and that subsequent events have tended only to demonstrate that his first anticipations of the effects of the measure were too true.



in that eventful crisis the indelible influence of race appeared. The English character was not wanting to itself. With a temperance in the exercise of power, which is as worthy of praise as their conduct in the struggle for it had been of censure, government remained neutral, and suffered the period of national madness to pass over without attempting any further subversion of our fundamental institutions. By degrees the national mind recovered its equilibrium. The national character, essentially practical save in moments of delirium, reappeared. Discarding all theoretical plans of remodeling the state, the people set themselves to procure the removal of those restrictions which impeded, or were thought to impede, the free exercise of industry. Like their Saxon ancestors six centuries before, when political power was for the first time extended to the boroughs by Earl Leicester, the urban population of Great Britain bent their whole efforts to the abolition of the custom-house burdens, which interfered with the liberty of buying and selling—and the import duties, which gave protection to the produce of rural industry.\*

Changes so great in the policy of the empire, deviations so marked from the system to which its former greatness had been owing, would appear inexplicable, if we did not reflect that they have arisen from *a different class* in society having, from that very greatness, been elevated to power. Powerful as was the influence which the territorial aristocracy had for so long enjoyed, and which, save in moments of extraordinary excitement, had given them for centuries the direction of the empire, it had now come to be supplanted by another interest in the state, which had grown up under the shelter which the former had afforded to general industry. The commercial and manufacturing

94.  
These changes arose from the commercial interest having got possession of power.

\* "La convocation des députés bourgeois au parlement de 1264, fut une combinaison politique suggérée à Leicester par sa situation, plutôt qu'une nécessité que l'état sociale imposât déjà au pouvoir. N'aguères aristocrate contre le royaume, il se fit démocrate contre l'aristocratie le jour où les villes par leur propre force auraient pris place dans le gouvernement central. Cette tentative fit faire un grand pas aux libertés du pays, mais son auteur en tira peu d'avantage. Les bourgeois, presque aussi étonnés que charmés de l'importance que leur accordait Leicester, se servirent de leur crédit pour affranchir leur commerce et se refuser au paiement des droits de douane, non pour fonder de concert avec lui un gouvernement durable."—Guizot, *Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, 475, 476. Is this the history of 1264 or 1832? of Earl Leicester's revolution or Earl Grey's reform? So identical is the same national spirit in its effects in similar circumstances in the most distant ages!

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interests, which had so long prospered under the protective system established by the wisdom of former times, had received such an extraordinary development during the war with the French Revolution, and its effects on the colonial empire of Great Britain during the peace which followed it, that it had become irresistible. Strong as was the grasp which the Norman barons had laid upon the state, and which eight centuries had scarcely loosened, it was at length relaxed by the conquests won by the firmness of their descendants, which gave Great Britain the command of the commerce of the world. The act of 1819, compelling the bank of England to resume its cash payments, completed the victory of the mercantile interest: for it at once added nearly a half to the effective amount of urban capital, and took nearly as much from the remuneration of rural industry.

95.  
Way in  
which this  
change arose  
out of the  
triumphs of  
the war.

Wealth was overflowing in towns; debt became universal in the country: ready money in the one party became abundant; the pressure of mortgages upon the other overwhelming. Twenty years of unprecedented prosperity, which had preceded the change, had only diminished the rural proprietors' means of resisting its effects; for they had spread habits of expense among them which could not now be relinquished, and led to the contraction of debts which could not be discharged. The landholders, like all other classes who depended on the returns of labour, felt in their full intensity the pressure of these circumstances, but they had not practical acquaintance with monetary affairs to perceive from what cause their difficulties proceeded. They thought any change would improve their condition, and that an extended representation would increase their influence; forgetting that wealth in a commercial state is the real source of power, and that their embarrassed fortunes would speedily yield to the skilfully directed assaults of combined urban capital. The great body of the people were readily carried away by the prospect of cheap bread; they forgot its effect, if realised, on the wages of labour: the cry *Panem et Circenses* proved as powerful with the British as ever it had been with the Roman populace. To cheapen every thing became the great object of policy, because it was thus that the trading class, in whom political power was

substantially vested, hoped to be benefited. The capitalists joined in the measures, because they tended to magnify the real amount of their fortunes : the people were seduced into them, because they held out the delusive prospect of cheap provisions and greater value to their wages. Thus was the combination effected by which the constitution and social policy of Great Britain have been entirely changed ; and that too at the very time when the beneficial effects of the former system in both had been most strongly experienced, and from the effects of the very triumphs which they had induced. Nations, like individuals, were not destined to eternal duration ; in their greatness equally as their misfortunes they find the seeds of mortality ; when their destined part is performed, they yield to the common fate of earthly things.

The slightest acquaintance with history must suggest to every candid observer the close, and to us ominous, resemblance between the failures which have now been described in our social condition, springing out of the magnitude and extent of our successes, and those which characterised the greatest elevation, and undoubtedly occasioned the fall, of the Roman empire. So close indeed is this analogy, so striking this resemblance, that a description of the one might pass for a picture of the other. It is in recent times, in an especial manner, that it has become conspicuous, because it is then that the causes have come into operation which, at such distant periods, have produced effects so identical in the two states. Under different names the same evils have reappeared. The gradual extinction of the old landed aristocracy, and substitution of a new race of moneyed magnates in their stead ; the continual growth of wealth in the rich, and of pauperism in the poor ; the eating in of usury into the vitals of the state ; the increasing encouragement of urban, and depression of rural industry ; the perilous dependence of the nation on foreign supplies for food ; the conversion of agriculture into pasturage, in the central provinces of the empire ; the difficulty of recruiting the legions from the country population ; the impossibility of doing so in towns ; the continual drain of the precious metals to distant countries, in the purchase of luxuries ; the necessity of sending them abroad for that of necessaries ; the conse-

CHAP.  
XCV.  
1815.

96.  
Striking  
analogy be-  
tween the  
social condi-  
tion of Great  
Britain, and  
that of the  
Roman  
empire.

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1815.

quent increase in the weight of direct taxes ; the failure in the produce of the indirect ; the difficulty in maintaining a land and sea force adequate to the defence of the widely extended frontiers of the empire, so often and strongly portrayed in the historians of antiquity, as the peculiarities which preceded the fall of Rome—have all their exact counterpart in the social features by which we are surrounded. The difficulty of recruiting the imperial legions is equalled by the embarrassment experienced by Great Britain in the manning of the navy, or finding funds for the support of a sufficient army ; the drain of gold and silver to Egypt and Arabia, is identified with that we now suffer under to America and the Ukraine ; and if we are not as yet dependent on the harvests of Libya and Sicily for our daily bread, it is already evident that the time is not far distant when we shall be reduced to a similar dependence on those of America and Poland ; and the lives of the English, as of the Roman people, will be committed to the winds and the waves.\*

97.  
Which arises  
from both  
having  
reached the  
limit set by  
nature to the  
growth of  
empires.

It is not surprising that the same political features should characterise the Roman and British empires at the periods of their highest exaltation ; for both have run the same course, and have come to be restrained by the same law of nature. To both a great and noble destiny was given ; both have worthily discharged it. The Roman legions bequeathed to the world the empires and laws of modern Europe ; the English navy has left to it the still more glorious inheritance of Transatlantic and Australian civilisation. But for neither was immortal duration intended. Other nations are to succeed in the same path, and forward yet further the designs of Providence. It is not to be wished that civilisation and power should be for ever centred round their ancient seats : their spread with the dispersion of mankind over the globe, forms an essential part of social advancement and the Divine administration. The provision made for this consists in two laws of permanent operation and eternal endurance, which impose a never-failing restraint on the growth of aged communities, and provide

\* —“ Nunquam securâ futuri,  
Semper inops, ventique fidem poscebat et anni.”

—CLAUDIAN *De Bello Gildonico*, lines 64, 65



in their very greatness and extension, the causes of their decline, and the transference of their dominion to other states. These laws are, that capital and knowledge, while they add indefinitely to manufacturing power, make no corresponding addition to the powers of rural labour; and that whatever is plentiful and brought in large quantities to one spot declines in value, and exposes the persons possessing it to disadvantage in exchange. We see this strongly exemplified at the present time; for England, which can easily undersell India in cotton manufacture, applied to an article which grew on the banks of the Ganges, finds its cultivators undersold by Poland and America with grain raised on the Vistula and the Mississippi. It is the silent but ceaseless operation of these two laws that induces the old age of great nations, and ensures that dispersion in civilised times of mankind, which is provided for in rude ages by the lust of conquest and roving habits of pastoral tribes.

When a nation becomes great and powerful, like Rome in ancient, or Great Britain in modern times, it necessarily draws the wealth of the world to itself. Money, being plentiful in its capital and chief places of business or pleasure, declines like every other plentiful thing in value. Money prices in consequence rise; and this after a time is felt as an insupportable grievance by its inhabitants. The rich purchase their luxuries from foreign states, where they are raised cheaper, because money is less plentiful: the poor clamour incessantly for the unrestricted admission of foreign grain, that they may have bread on as moderate terms as foreign labourers. Manufacturers and capitalists swell the cry and second their efforts, because, by introducing foreign produce raised at a small cost, they hope to augment the real value of their fortunes, and extend by cheapening the sale of their manufactures in foreign states. The richest and most numerous classes of the community being thus combined for one object, it soon becomes impossible to resist its concession. Free-trade in grain was imposed upon the Roman Emperors, as soon as their empire became extensive, not less by the clamours of their subjects in the centre, than by a sense of justice to those in the extremities of their empire.

98.  
Way in  
which this  
effect takes  
place.

CHAP.  
XCV.

1815.

99.

Rome and  
England have  
reached the  
same limit  
imposed by  
nature.

101

Thence the dependence of Rome on the harvests of Egypt and Libya, the ruin of Italian agriculture, the disappearance of Italian soldiers from the legions, the ruinous burden of direct taxes, the fall of the empire. England has reached the same limit; the same passions have from similar causes appeared among its inhabitants, the same measures have been adopted by government, and the same effects will follow. In the incessant effort to cheapen every thing, in order to obviate the effects of the very wealth which its greatness has produced, industry will be crushed, and the strength of the heart of the empire destroyed. All the great operations of nature are conducted by the laws which we see in daily operation around us. Would we see the formation of a continent, we have only to look at the deposit of a few inconsiderable rills: the same law which makes a stone fall to the ground, restrains the planets in their course. The simple law that whatever is plentiful becomes cheap, and that when a state grows rich, its money prices rise, points to a law of nature which restrains the growth of empires, and has for ever rendered universal dominion impossible.

100.

Napoleon at  
St Helena.

Napoleon did not long survive the most distinguished of his old companions in arms. Although he was subjected to no restraint at St Helena, was permitted to ride over nearly the whole island, and enjoyed a degree of luxury and comfort, both in his habitation and in the society with which he was surrounded, which bore a striking contrast to the stern severity with which he had treated state prisoners, yet his proud spirit chafed against the coercion of being confined at all to an island. The British government had given the most express instructions that he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank as a general, and with all the indulgence consistent with security against his escape; but Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed to the military command of the island, proved an unhappy selection. His manner was rigid and unaccommodating, and his temper of mind not such as to soften the distress which the Emperor endured during his detention. A great impression, accordingly, was made upon the world by the publication of the St Helena memoirs, in which were interwoven exaggerated state-

ments of the indignities to which he was said to have been subjected, with the interesting disquisitions and profound reflections, which will perhaps add as much to his fame with the thinking portion of mankind, as his great military achievements always must with the enthusiastic and enterprising.

But while all must regret that it should have been necessary, under any circumstances, to act with even seeming harshness towards so great a man; yet justice can see nothing to condemn in the conduct of the British government in this particular, whatever it may do as to want of courtesy in the governor of the island. It was indispensable to the peace of the world to prevent his escape: and the expedition from Elba had shown, that no reliance could be placed either on his professions or his treaties. Detention and secure custody, therefore, were unavoidable; and every comfort consistent with these objects was afforded him by the British government. He was allowed the society of the friends who had accompanied him in his exile; he had books in abundance to amuse his leisure hours; saddle-horses in profusion were at his command; he was permitted to ride several miles in one direction; Champagne and Burgundy were his daily beverage; and the bill of fare of his table, which is given by Las Cases as a proof of the severity of the British government, would be thought the height of luxury by most persons in a state of liberty.<sup>1</sup> If the English government had acted towards Napoleon as he did to others who opposed him, they would have shot him in the first ditch, as he did the Duc d'Enghien or Hofer, or shut him up in an Alpine fortress, as he did the Cardinal Pacca. Napoleon himself, when his better spirit returned, had greatness of mind enough to see how much his thoughts recorded during his exile would in the end add to his fame. "If I thought only," said he, "of myself, perhaps I would rejoice that I am here. Misfortune has its heroism and its glory. Adversity was wanting to my career. If I had died upon the throne, amidst the clouds of my power, I should have remained a problem to many; now, thanks to adversity, they can judge me as I am."<sup>2</sup>

But his mortal career in the scene of his exile and

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1815.

101.

Conduct of  
the British  
government  
towards him.

<sup>1</sup> See Las  
Cases, iv.  
447.

<sup>2</sup> Las Cas.  
i. 408.



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1815.

102.

His last illness and death.  
May 5, 1821.

suffering was not destined to be of long duration. The vexation which he experienced at finding all the plans frustrated which had been formed for his escape, the fretting which he suffered from the sight of the English sentries round his dwelling, the recollection of his lost greatness, the prospect of endless detention, combined with a hereditary malady to produce severe complaints. He suffered much from these; but it was at first hoped that they would yield to the skill of his medical attendants. Gradually, however, the affections became more severe: and they at length assumed the decided symptoms of cancer in the stomach, to which his father had fallen a victim at a still earlier age. In February 1821, he became so rapidly worse, that, by the special directions of the Prince Regent, Lord Bathurst wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe to express his Royal Highness's sympathy with his sufferings, and his wish, if possible, to relieve them. This mark of regard, however, came too late: towards the end of March his strength sank rapidly: he dictated his will, with a great variety of minute bequests; but obstinately refused to take medicine, to which he had a great aversion. "All that is to happen," said he, "is written down: our hour is marked: we cannot prolong it a minute beyond what fate has predestined." He directed that his heart should be sent to the Empress Marie Louise at Parma, and his stomach examined, to see if he had died of his hereditary malady. At two o'clock on the 3d May he received extreme unction, declared that he died in the Roman Catholic faith, which had been that of his fathers, and gave minute directions for his body being laid in state in a *chapelle ardente*, according to the form of the Catholic worship. "Can you not," said he to Antomarchi, his physician, "believe in God, whose existence every thing proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?" On the 5th, a violent storm of wind and rain arose: the last struggles of Napoleon took place during its fury; and the last words he was heard to utter were, "*Tête d'armée*." He breathed his last at eleven minutes before six in the evening. In his will, which contained a vast number of bequests, were two very remarkable ones:<sup>1</sup> the one was, a request "that his body might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people

Napoleon's Testament.  
Antomarchi, ii. 229, 246, 312. Scott, ix. 296, 301.



whom he had loved so well;" the other, a legacy of ten thousand francs to the assassin Cantillon, who had attempted recently before to murder the Duke of Wellington.

Napoleon had himself indicated the place in St Helena where he wished his remains to be interred, if they were not allowed to be removed to France. It was in a small hollow called Slane's Valley, where a fountain, shaded with weeping willows, had long been a favourite spot for his meditations. The body, after lying in state as he had directed, was carried to the place of interment on the 8th of May. The whole members of his household, including the noble-hearted Bertrand, Count Montholon, and the other faithful friends who had shared his exile, and all the officers, naval and military, in the island, attended on the occasion. He was laid in the coffin in his three-cornered hat, military surtout, leather under-dress, and boots, as he appeared on the field of battle. As the hearse could not get up to the place of sepulture, a detachment of British grenadiers of the 66th and 20th regiments, then on duty in the island, bore him to the spot. The coffin was lowered amidst the speechless emotion and tears of all present; three successive volleys of musketry and artillery announced that the mighty conqueror was laid in his grave; a simple stone of great size was placed over his remains; and the solitary willow wept over the tomb of him for whom the earth itself had once hardly seemed a fitting mausoleum.<sup>1</sup>

Time rolled on, and brought its usual changes on its wings. The dynasty of the Restoration proved unequal to the arduous task of coercing the desires of the Revolution, weakened, but not extinguished, by the overthrow of Napoleon: a new generation arose, teeming with the passions and forgetful of the sufferings of former times; and the revolt of the Barricades restored the tricolor flag, and established a semi-revolutionary dynasty on the French throne. England shared in the renewed convulsions consequent on these momentous events: a great organic change in the constitution placed the popular party for a course of years in power; a temporary alliance, founded on political passion, not national interest, for a time united its government with that of France;

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XCV.  
1815.

103.  
His inter-  
ment at St  
Helena.

May 8.

<sup>1</sup> Scott's  
Nap. ix. 294.  
302. Antom.  
ii. 180, 192.

104.  
Removal of  
Napoleon's  
remains from  
St Helena.

CHAP.  
XCV.—1815.  
Sept. 1840.

and under the auspices of M. Thiers's administration, a request was made to the British to restore the remains of their great Emperor to the French people. This request, received in a worthy spirit by the English administration, was immediately complied with, in the hope, as it was eloquently though fallaciously said at the time, "that these two great nations would henceforth bury their discord in the tomb of Napoleon."\* The solitary grave in St Helena was disturbed: the lonely willow no longer wept over the remains of the Emperor: the sepulchre was opened in presence of all the officers of the island, and many of his faithful followers: and the winding-sheet, rolled back with pious care, revealed to the entranced spectators the well-known features of the immortal hero, serene, undecayed, in his now canonised military dress, as when he stood on the fields of Austerlitz or Jena. The body was removed from its resting-place with the highest military honours: the British army and navy in the island, with generous sympathy, vied with each other in doing honour to their great antagonist; and when it was lowered amidst the thunder of artillery into the French frigate, England felt that she had voluntarily, but in a right spirit, relinquished the proudest trophy of her national glory.

105.  
And their  
final inter-  
ment in the  
Church of the  
Invalides.  
Dec. 15, 1840.

The remains of the Emperor were conveyed in safety to Europe on board the *Belle Poule* frigate, and landed with appropriate honours at Havre de Grace. From thence they were removed to Paris, with a view to their being interred, with the other illustrious warriors of France, in the Church of the Invalides. The reinterment, which awakened the deepest interest in France and over Europe, took place on the 15th December 1840. The day was fine, though piercingly cold; but such was the inte-

\* "Le gouvernement de sa majesté espère que l'empressement qu'il met à répondre à cette demande sera considéré en France comme une preuve du désir de sa majesté d'effacer jusqu'à la dernière trace de ces animosités nationales qui pendant la vie de l'Empereur avaient poussé les deux nations à la guerre. Le gouvernement de sa majesté espère que de pareils sentimens, s'ils existaient encore, seraient ensevelis à jamais dans le tombeau destiné à recevoir les restes mortels de Napoleon."—LORD PALMERSTON *au COMTE GRANVILLE*, 9th May 1840; *CAPE-FIGUE, Histoire de Louis Philippe*, x. 175. These are the words of dignified generosity, worthy of the chivalrous days of a great nation; but how vain are the courtesies of statesmen to eradicate the seeds of rivalry implanted by circumstances or history in the breast of nations! Within a few months after Napoleon was entombed in the Invalides, France and England were on the verge of a desperate war from the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre.

rest excited, that six hundred thousand persons were assembled to witness the ceremony. The procession approached Paris by the road from St Cloud, so often traversed by the Emperor in the days of his glory ; it passed through the now finished and stupendous arch erected to the Grand Army at the barrier of Neuilly ; and slowly moving through the Champs Elysées, reached the Invalides by the bridge of La Concorde. Louis Philippe and all his court officiated at the august ceremony, which was performed with extraordinary pomp in the splendid church of the edifice ; but nothing awakened such deep feeling as a band of the mutilated veterans of the Old Guard, who with mournful visages, but a yet military air, attended the remains of their beloved chief to his last resting-place. An aged charger, once ridden by the Emperor on his fields of fame, survived to follow the colossal hearse to the grave. The place of interment was worthy of the hero who was now placed beneath its roof : it contained the remains of Turenne and Vauban, and the paladins of France : enchanting music thrilled every heart as the coffin was lowered into the tomb : the thunders of the artillery, so often vocal to his triumphs, now gave him the last honours of mortality : the genius of Marochetti was selected to erect a fitting monument to his memory ; and the bones of Napoleon finally reposed on the banks of the Seine, amidst the "people whom he had loved so well." Yet will future ages perhaps regret the ocean-girt isle, the solitary stone, the willow-tree. Napoleon will live when Paris is in ruins : his deeds will survive the dome of the Invalides ;—no man can show the tomb of Alexander !





## APPENDIX.

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### TABLE SHOWING FOR EVERY YEAR FROM 1792 TO 1847,

THE Precious Metals annually raised and coined in the South American and Mexican Mines—the Bank Notes of the Bank of England in Circulation—the Aggregate of Bank Notes of Private Bankers—Total of Notes in Circulation—the Coin annually issued from the Mint—the Annual Price of Gold—the Commercial Paper under Discount at the Bank of England—the Exports, Official Value, and Exports, Declared Value—British and Irish Produce, Exports—Total Exports, Official Value—Imports, Official Value—Tonnage of Shipping—Revenue, Crime, and Population of the British Empire—Emigrants from the United Kingdom—Sums levied annually for Poor and County Rates in England and Wales—Amount of Poor Rate in Quarters of Grain annually—Taxes Imposed, Net Amount—Taxes Repealed, Net Amount—National Debt in each Year—National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at annual Prices—Money applied to the Redemption of Debt—Price of Wheat the Quarter.—Compiled from Porter's Parliamentary Tables, Marshall's Parliamentary Tables, and other Parliamentary Sources.

Years.	Money annually raised and coined in South America.	Bank of England Notes and Bank Post Bills in circulation.	Aggregate of Private Bank Notes, England and Wales.	Total of Notes.	Gold and Silver Coin annually issued from the Mint.	Price of Gold in each Year, per Ounce.	Commercial Paper under Discount at Bank of England.	Years.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1792	5,264,672	11,307,380	No return.		1,171,863		1,179,641	1792
1793	6,391,471	11,388,919			2,747,439		1,842,781	1793
1794	5,262,391	10,744,020			2,558,895		2,146,671	1794
1795	5,861,342	14,017,510			493,416	4 4 0	2,946,500	1795
1796	6,752,591	10,729,520			464,680	..	3,505,000	1796
* 1797	5,891,611	11,114,120			2,600,297	3 17 6	5,350,000	1797
1798	6,762,311	13,095,830			2,967,565	3 17 10½	4,490,600	1798
1799	5,981,311	12,959,610			449,962	3 17 9	5,403,900	1799
1800	6,112,411	16,854,809			189,137	4 5 0	6,421,900	1800
1801	5,201,200	16,203,280			450,242	4 4 0	7,905,100	1801
1802	5,175,957	15,186,880			437,019	4 3 6	7,523,300	1802
1803	5,032,227	15,849,980			596,445	..	10,747,600	1803
1804	5,058,211	17,077,830			718,397	4 0 0	9,982,400	1804
1805	7,104,436	17,871,170			54,658	4 0 0	11,265,500	1805
1806	6,502,142	17,730,120			45,106	..	12,380,100	1806
1807	5,356,152	16,950,680			None.	..	13,484,600	1807
1808	6,169,038	19,183,860			371,714	..	12,950,100	1808
1809	6,997,853	18,542,860			298,946	4 10 0	15,475,700	1809
1810	5,870,972	21,019,609			316,936	..	20,070,600	1810
1811	4,718,584	23,360,220			312,263	4 17 6	14,355,400	1811
1812	3,619,352	23,480,320			None.	4 15 0	14,291,600	1812
1813	3,784,700	23,210,930			519,722	..	12,380,200	1813
1814	3,687,249	24,801,080	22,700,000	47,501,080	None.	5 8 0	13,285,800	1814
1815	3,104,565	27,261,650	19,011,000	46,272,650	None.	4 9 0	14,917,000	1815
1816	2,528,008	27,013,620	15,096,000	42,109,620	1,805,251	3 19 0	11,416,400	1816
1817	3,431,475	27,397,900	15,894,000	43,291,900	6,711,635	3 18 6	3,960,600	1817
1818	3,893,925	27,771,070	20,507,000	48,278,070	3,438,652	..	4,325,200	1818
† 1819	3,838,350	25,227,100	15,701,328	40,928,428	1,270,817	4 1 0	6,515,000	1819
1820	3,557,236	23,569,150	10,576,245	34,145,395	1,797,233	3 17 10½	3,883,600	1820
1821	2,887,487	22,471,450	8,256,180	30,727,630	9,954,444	3 17 10½	2,676,700	1821
1822	3,080,403	18,172,170	8,416,430	26,588,600	5,388,217	3 17 10½	3,366,700	1822
1823	2,638,267	18,176,470	9,920,074	27,396,544	1,045,020	3 17 6	3,123,809	1823
1824	2,367,426	19,929,800	12,831,352	32,761,152	4,347,145	3 17 6	2,369,800	1824
1825	2,250,829	26,069,130	14,980,168	41,049,298	4,998,454	3 17 9	4,941,500	1825
1826	2,327,861	24,955,040	8,656,101	33,611,141	6,505,067	3 17 6	4,908,300	1826
1827	2,894,007	21,508,550	9,985,300	31,493,850	2,545,656	3 17 6	1,240,400	1827
1828	2,923,006	22,174,780	10,121,476	32,296,256	1,024,547	3 17 6	1,167,400	1828
1829	2,354,803	20,264,300	8,130,137	28,394,437	2,555,014	3 17 6	2,250,700	1829
1830	2,589,879	20,460,060	7,841,396	28,501,456	2,388,032	3 17 9	919,900	1830
1831	837,343	19,050,880	7,914,216	26,965,096	621,645	3 17 10½	1,585,600	1831
1832	938,729	18,485,310	8,221,895	26,707,205	3,720,902	3 17 10½		1832
1833	3,587,736	17,531,910	10,152,104	27,684,014	1,225,414	3 17 9		1833
§ 1834		19,195,000	10,152,000	29,347,000	499,724	3 17 9		1834
1835		18,085,000	10,659,000	28,744,000	256,505	3 17 9		1835
1836		18,018,000	11,134,000	29,152,000	2,285,501	3 17 9		1836
1837		18,887,000	12,012,196	30,899,196	1,329,112	3 17 9		1837
1838		19,488,000	10,225,488	29,713,488	3,056,432	3 17 9		1838
1839	No return	15,317,010	12,259,467	27,576,477	794,295	3 17 9	No return.	1839
1840	In these years.	15,797,000	10,833,244	26,630,244	216,414	3 17 6		1840
1841		16,397,450	10,251,450	26,648,900	474,640	3 17 9		1841
1842		18,290,790	10,311,211	28,602,001	6,269,888	3 17 9		1842
¶ 1843		19,361,410	7,114,458	26,475,868	6,884,455	3 17 10½		1843
1844		20,796,295	7,487,145	28,283,440	4,190,619	3 17 10½		1844
1845		20,359,495	7,497,711	27,857,206	4,892,266	3 17 10½		1845
1846		20,971,265	7,234,141	28,205,406	No return.	3 17 10½		1846
†† 1847		18,780,038	6,742,789	25,522,827				1847

\* Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ New Poor Law.

¶ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.

Years.	Exports, Official Value, of Great Britain and Ireland.	Exports, Declared Value.	British and Irish Produce. Exports.	Total Exports, Official Value.	Imports, Official Value.	Shipping, Tons.	Years.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
1792					19,659,358	1,068,302	1792
1793	16,281,672	27,361,142			19,459,357	719,968	1793
1794	16,467,491	28,169,112			22,294,893	1,879,580	1794
1795	17,267,311	29,671,200	No return.	No return.	23,736,889	1,231,461	1795
1796	17,900,041	30,236,671			23,187,309	1,384,311	1796
* 1797	18,321,111	31,042,121			21,013,956	1,426,592	1797
1798	18,556,891	31,252,836	8,760,196	27,327,017	25,122,203	1,632,112	1798
1799	22,284,941	35,903,851	7,271,696	29,556,637	24,066,700	1,746,221	1799
1800	22,831,936	36,929,007	11,549,681	32,381,617	28,257,781	1,905,438	1800
1801	24,501,608	39,730,659	10,336,966	34,031,574	30,435,268	2,725,949	1801
1802	25,195,893	45,102,230	12,677,431	38,873,324	28,308,373	2,147,629	1802
1803	20,467,531	36,127,781	8,032,643	28,499,174	25,104,541	2,167,863	1803
1804	22,687,309	37,135,746	8,938,741	31,616,050	26,454,281	2,268,570	1804
1805	23,376,941	37,234,396	7,643,120	31,020,061	27,344,720	2,283,442	1805
1806	25,861,879	39,746,581	7,717,555	33,579,434	25,501,478	2,263,714	1806
1807	23,391,214	36,394,443	7,624,312	31,015,536	23,326,845	2,281,621	1807
1808	24,611,215	36,306,385	5,776,775	30,387,990	25,660,953	2,324,819	1808
1809	33,542,274	46,049,777	12,750,358	46,292,632	30,170,292	2,368,468	1809
1810	34,061,901	47,000,926	9,357,435	43,419,336	37,613,292	2,429,044	1810
1811	22,684,400	30,850,618	6,117,720	28,801,120	25,240,704	2,474,774	1811
1812	29,508,508	39,854,526	9,533,065	39,042,273	24,923,922	2,278,799	1812
1813	Custom	House	Records	destroyed	by	fire.	1813
1814	34,207,253	43,447,373	19,365,981	53,573,234	32,622,771	2,616,965	1814
1815	42,875,996	49,653,245	15,748,554	58,624,550	31,822,053	2,601,276	1815
1816	35,717,070	40,328,940	13,480,781	49,197,851	26,374,921	2,648,593	1816
1817	40,111,427	40,349,235	10,292,684	50,404,111	29,910,502	2,664,986	1817
1818	42,700,521	45,180,150	10,859,817	53,560,338	35,845,340	2,674,468	1818
† 1819	33,534,176	34,252,251	9,904,813	42,438,989	29,681,640	2,666,396	1819
1820	38,395,625	35,569,077	10,555,912	48,965,537	31,515,222	2,648,593	1820
1821	40,831,744	35,823,127	10,629,689	51,461,423	29,769,122	2,560,203	1821
1822	44,236,533	36,176,897	9,227,589	53,464,122	29,432,376	2,519,044	1822
1823	43,804,372	30,589,410	8,603,904	52,408,276	34,591,260	2,506,760	1823
1824	48,735,551	37,600,021	10,204,785	58,940,336	36,056,551	2,559,587	1824
1825	47,166,020	38,077,330	9,169,494	56,335,514	42,660,954	2,553,682	1825
1826	40,965,785	30,847,528	10,076,286	51,042,071	36,174,350	2,635,644	1826
1827	52,219,280	36,394,817	9,830,728	62,050,008	43,489,346	2,614,515	1827
1828	52,797,455	36,150,379	9,946,545	62,744,002	43,536,187	2,793,429	1828
1829	56,213,041	35,212,873	10,622,402	66,835,443	42,311,609	2,860,515	1829
1830	61,140,864	38,271,597	8,550,437	69,691,301	46,245,241	3,196,782	1830
1831	60,683,933	37,184,372	10,745,071	71,429,004	49,713,889	2,880,492	1831
1832	65,926,702	36,450,594	11,044,869	76,971,571	44,586,741	3,002,875	1832
1833	69,939,389	39,667,347	9,833,753	79,773,142	45,952,551	3,149,152	1833
§ 1834	73,831,550	41,649,191	11,562,036	85,393,686	49,362,811	3,149,168	1834
1835	78,376,731	47,372,270	12,797,724	91,074,455	43,911,542	3,325,211	1835
1836	85,229,837	53,368,572	12,391,711	97,621,548	57,023,867	3,566,697	1836
1837	72,548,047	42,070,744	13,233,622	85,781,669	54,737,301	3,583,965	1837
1838	92,459,231	50,060,970	12,711,318	105,165,479	61,268,320	4,099,039	1838
1839	97,402,726	53,233,500	12,795,990	110,190,656	62,004,000	4,333,015	1839
1840	102,705,372	51,401,430	13,774,306	116,481,015	67,432,964	4,659,376	1840
1841	102,180,517	51,604,430	14,723,151	116,902,887	64,377,962	4,657,376	1841
1842	100,260,101	47,361,043	13,584,158	113,841,802	65,204,729	4,500,028	1842
¶ 1843	117,877,278	52,276,449	13,956,113	131,832,947	70,093,353	4,847,296	1843
1844	131,564,503	58,584,292	14,397,246	145,956,654	75,441,555	5,049,601	1844
1845	134,599,116	60,111,081	16,280,870	150,379,056	85,281,955	6,045,718	1845
1846	132,288,345	57,786,576	16,296,162	148,584,507	75,958,875	6,091,052	1846
†† 1847	125,907,063	58,971,166	19,999,344	146,194,079	90,921,866	7,196,033	1847

• Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ New Poor Law.

¶ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

‡ Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish fami



Years.	Population, Yearly, of Great Britain.	Commit- ments Annually in Eng- land and Wales.	Emigrants from the United Kingdom.	Sums levied for Poor and County Rates Annually in England and Wales.	Amount of Poor's Rate in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Taxes Imposed. Net Amount.	Taxes Re- pealed. Net Amount.	Years.
				£		£	£	
1792	9,400,000							1792
1793	9,800,000							1793
1794	9,920,000							1794
1795	10,080,000							1795
1796	10,200,000							1796
* 1797	10,320,000					No return.		1797
1798	10,440,000							1798
1799	10,560,000							1799
1800	10,680,000							1800
1801	10,880,000			4,017,871	693,234	1,720,000		1801
1802	10,492,646					4,000,000		1802
1803	11,007,000			4,077,891	1,428,751	12,500,000		1803
1804	11,200,000					1,000,000		1804
1805	11,404,000	4,605				1,560,000		1805
1806	11,600,000	4,346				6,000,000		1806
1807	11,850,000	4,446				..		1807
1808	12,020,000	4,735				..		1808
1809	12,190,000	5,330				200,000		1809
1810	12,340,000	5,146				..		1810
1811	12,596,803	5,337		6,656,105	1,440,455	1,617,600		1811
1812	12,800,000	6,576				1,495,000		1812
1813	13,000,000	7,164				980,000		1813
1814	13,200,000	6,390		6,294,581	1,746,474	285,000		1814
1815	13,420,000	7,818		5,418,846	1,702,255	423,937	932,827	1815
1816	13,640,000	9,091		5,724,839	1,503,240	320,058	17,547,565	1816
1817	13,860,000	13,932		6,910,925	1,470,409	7,991	36,495	1817
1818	14,000,000	13,567		7,870,801	1,881,466	1,336	9,564	1818
† 1819	14,200,000	14,254		7,631,470	1,970,016	3,094,902	705,846	1819
1820	14,300,000	13,710	18,984	7,330,256	2,226,913	119,602	4,000	1820
1821	14,391,631	13,115	13,194	6,959,249	2,557,763	42,642	471,309	1821
1822	14,600,000	12,201	12,349	6,358,702	2,940,440	..	2,139,101	1822
1823	14,800,000	12,263	8,860	5,772,958	2,231,094	18,596	4,050,250	1823
1824	15,000,000	12,698	8,210	5,736,898	1,850,612	45,605	1,704,724	1824
1825	15,200,000	12,437	14,891	5,786,989	1,740,747	43,000	3,639,551	1825
1826	15,400,000	16,164	20,900	5,928,501	2,083,221	188,000	1,973,812	1826
1827	15,600,000	17,924	28,003	6,441,088	2,269,987	21,402	4,038	1827
1828	15,850,000	16,564	26,092	6,298,000	2,084,855	1,966	51,998	1828
1829	16,140,000	18,675	31,198	6,332,410	1,911,671	..	126,406	1829
1830	16,240,000	18,107	56,907	6,829,042	2,125,772	696,004	4,093,955	1830
1831	16,539,318	19,647	83,160	6,798,888	2,649,916	627,586	1,598,536	1831
1832	16,800,000	20,821	103,140	8,662,920	2,398,966	44,526	747,264	1832
1833	17,050,000	20,072	62,527	8,279,217	2,566,601	..	1,526,914	1833
§ 1834	17,270,000	22,451	76,222	8,338,079	2,736,717	198,394	2,091,516	1834
1835	17,480,000	20,731	44,478	7,373,807	2,394,116	75	165,817	1835
1836	17,690,000	20,984	75,417	6,354,538	2,398,796	..	989,786	1836
1837	17,800,000	23,612	72,034	5,294,566	1,507,357	3,991	234	1837
1838	18,000,000	23,094	33,222	5,186,389	1,788,410	100	289	1838
1839	18,200,000	24,451	62,207	5,613,939	1,651,158	1,733	63,258	1839
1840	18,410,000	27,187	90,743	6,014,605	1,822,607	2,155,673	18,959	1840
1841	18,600,000	27,670	118,592	6,351,828	2,348,825	..	27,176	1841
1842	18,830,000	31,309	128,344	6,552,800	2,840,347	..	1,596,366	1842
¶ 1843	19,200,000	29,591	57,212	7,085,595	3,015,147	5,529,989	..	1843
1844	19,440,000	26,542	70,686	7,066,797	3,093,608	..	..	1844
1845	19,600,000	24,303	93,501	6,791,006	2,663,145	23,720	4,535,561	1845
1846	19,850,000	25,107	129,851	6,844,241	2,488,870	..	..	1846
†† 1847	20,100,000	28,883	240,461	6,986,480	1,996,131	..	..	1847

\* Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ New Poor Law.

¶ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

|| Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.



Years.	National Debt in each Year.	Revenue Yearly.	National Debt in each Year in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Revenue Yearly in Quarters of Wheat at Annual Prices.	Money applied Yearly to the Redemption of Debt.	Average Price of Wheat, Winch. Qr. over the Year.	Years.
	£	£			£	s. d.	
1792	231,537,865	19,258,814	98,526,751	8,195,240	1,558,504	47 1	1792
1793	229,614,446	19,845,705	93,720,182	8,100,287	1,634,972	49 6	1793
1794	234,034,718	20,193,074	86,679,525	7,478,916	1,872,957	54 0	1794
1795	247,877,237	19,833,520	61,204,256	4,897,165	2,143,697	81 6	1795
1796	301,861,306	21,454,728	75,462,826	5,363,682	2,639,956	80 3	1796
* 1797	355,323,774	23,126,940	114,620,572	7,460,303	3,393,214	62 0	1797
1798	414,936,334	31,035,363	153,680,123	11,494,579	4,093,164	54 0	1798
1799	423,367,547	35,602,444	112,898,012	9,493,985	4,528,568	75 8	1799
1800	447,147,164	34,145,584	70,416,876	5,378,123	4,908,379	127 0	1800
1801	447,043,489	34,113,146	69,850,545	5,330,179	5,528,315	128 6	1801
1802	522,231,786	36,368,149	155,890,085	10,856,163	6,114,033	67 3	1802
1803	528,260,642	38,609,392	176,086,880	12,869,797	6,494,694	60 0	1803
1804	545,803,318	46,176,492	158,203,889	13,384,490	6,436,929	69 6	1804
1805	573,529,932	50,847,706	197,768,942	17,533,691	9,406,865	88 0	1805
1806	593,694,287	55,796,086	134,930,519	12,680,928	9,602,658	88 0	1806
1807	601,733,073	59,339,321	154,290,531	15,215,210	10,125,419	78 2	1807
1808	604,287,474	62,998,191	142,185,288	13,646,633	10,681,579	85 3	1808
1809	614,789,091	63,719,400	115,997,943	12,022,509	11,359,691	106 0	1809
1810	624,301,396	67,144,542	111,482,927	11,990,096	12,095,977	112 0	1810
1811	635,583,448	65,173,545	117,700,638	12,069,175	13,073,577	108 0	1811
1812	661,409,958	65,037,850	112,103,383	11,023,364	14,098,842	118 0	1812
1813	740,023,535	68,748,363	123,837,255	11,458,060	16,064,057	120 0	1813
1814	752,857,236	71,134,503	177,142,879	16,737,530	14,830,957	85 0	1814
1815	816,311,940	72,210,512	214,818,931	19,055,398	14,241,397	76 0	1815
1816	796,200,196	62,264,546	194,195,170	15,188,913	13,945,117	82 0	1816
1817	776,742,403	52,055,913	133,921,104	8,975,157	14,514,457	116 0	1817
1818	791,867,314	53,747,795	161,605,574	10,968,937	15,339,483	98 0	1818
† 1819	794,980,480	52,648,847	203,841,148	13,499,704	16,305,590	78 0	1819
1820	801,565,310	54,282,958	210,938,239	14,284,988	17,499,773	76 0	1820
1821	795,312,767	55,834,192	224,031,765	15,727,941	17,219,957	71 0	1821
1822	796,530,144	55,663,650	300,577,413	21,005,150	18,889,319	53 0	1822
1823	791,701,612	57,972,999	277,790,039	20,341,403	7,482,325	57 0	1823
1824	781,123,222	59,362,403	216,978,672	16,489,586	10,625,059	72 0	1824
1825	778,128,265	57,273,869	185,268,634	13,636,635	6,093,475	84 0	1825
1826	783,801,739	54,894,989	214,740,202	12,710,955	5,621,231	73 0	1826
1827	777,476,890	54,932,518	310,990,756	21,973,007	5,704,766	50 0	1827
1828	772,322,540	55,187,142	217,555,645	15,545,673	4,667,965	71 8	1828
1829	771,251,932	50,786,602	280,455,248	18,467,855	2,559,485	55 4	1829
1830	757,486,997	56,056,616	236,714,686	17,517,692	4,545,465	64 10	1830
1831	754,100,549	46,424,446	260,034,672	16,008,429	1,663,093	58 3	1831
1832	751,658,883	46,988,755	289,099,570	18,072,598	5,696	52 6	1832
1833	743,675,229	46,271,326	316,457,544	19,279,719	1,023,751	47 10	1833
§ 1834	751,658,883	46,425,263	375,829,441	23,807,827	1,776,378	39 8	1834
1835	743,675,229	45,893,369	424,957,313	26,221,925	1,270,050	35 3	1835
1836	758,549,866	48,591,180	261,568,919	16,755,580	1,590,727	57 9	1836
1837	761,422,570	50,592,653	298,597,086	19,840,256	None.	51 3	1837
1838	762,275,188	51,278,928	262,860,409	17,854,802	None.	57 11	1838
1839	761,347,690	52,058,349	223,925,791	15,311,279	Deficiency from 1837 to 1842 of L.12,000,000, in six years.	68 7	1839
1840	766,541,680	51,693,510	235,858,978	15,907,233		65 8	1840
1841	766,371,725	52,315,433	283,841,379	19,376,086		54 6	1841
1842	774,319,913	51,120,040	336,660,831	22,226,104		49 0	1842
¶ 1843	773,068,340	56,935,022	328,865,251	24,227,668	1,433,282	47 4	1843
1844	771,069,858	52,913,028	335,247,764	23,005,664	1,563,361	46 8	1844
1845	766,672,822	52,009,324	300,656,008	20,395,813	4,143,891	50 10	1845
1846	764,608,284	54,473,762	283,188,253	20,175,467	2,846,307	54 8	1846
†† 1847	777,603,818	52,082,757	222,172,519	14,880,787	2,956,683	69 9	1847

\* Bank Restriction Act passed.

§ New Poor Law.

¶ Income-tax imposed.

† Bank obliged to pay in gold at Mint price.

|| Year after Canadian rebellion.

†† Irish famine.



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